GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES

Published under the Authority of
the Government of His Highness
the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda.

GENERAL EDITOR:
B. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

No. XLIII.

THE MIRAT-I-AHMADI SUPPLEMENT

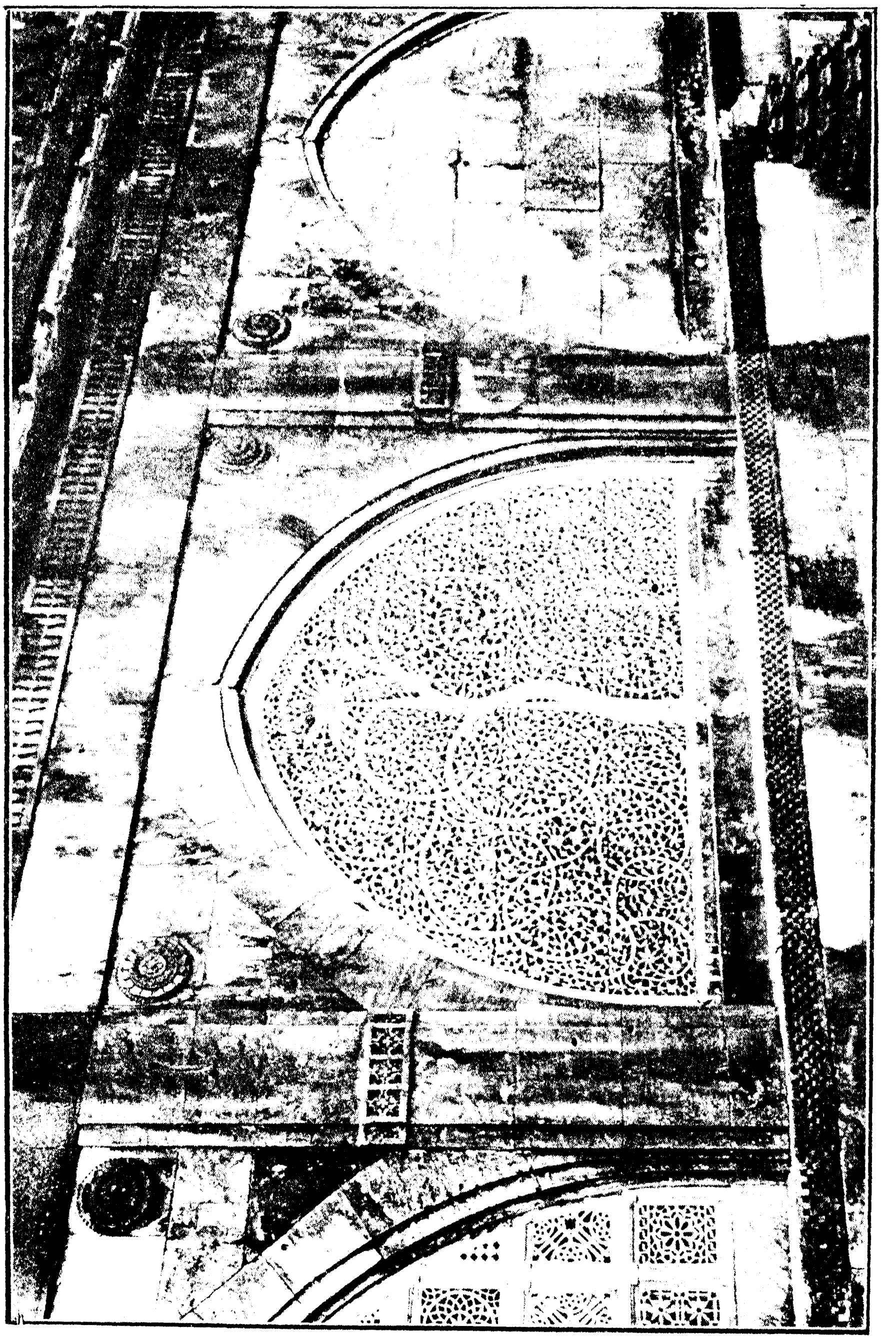
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Carved Window in Sidi Sayyid Mosque, Ahmedabad.

Frontispiece.

MIRAT-I-AHMADI

SUPPLEMENT

Translated from the Persian of Ali Muhammad Khan

BY

SYED NAWAB ALI, M.A.,

PROFESSOR, BARODA COLLEGE; FELLOW, UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY;
AUTHOR OF TARIKH-I-SOHAF, TAZKIRAT-UL-MUSTAFA, &c., &c.,

AND

CHARLES NORMAN SEDDON, I.C.S. (*Retired*),

READER IN PERSIAN AND MARATHI, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD;
SOMETIME REVENUE MINISTER, BARODA STATE

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES AND APPENDICES

Re-Issue-Corrected

1928

BARODA

Oriental Institute

Printed by P. Knight at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta,
and Published on behalf of the Government of H.H. the
Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda by Benoytosh
Bhattacharyya, at the Oriental
Institute, Baroda

Price, Rs. 6-8-0

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FOREWORD.

I first became acquainted with the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* nearly twenty years ago when engaged in Settlement work in the Baroda State. There seemed to me a good deal in this work that ought to interest the people of Gujarat, and especially those whose business is the administration of the province, whether in British territory or in Baroda or other States. But its Persian dress hid it from all but a small minority. I had no time to translate it myself, nor could I find a helper with the leisure and knowledge that were required. But when I returned to Baroda in 1921 I was fortunate enough to become acquainted with Professor Nawab Ali. This gentleman came to my assistance, and we decided to begin by translating and publishing in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* the Supplement to the *Mirat.*

Mirza Muhamad Hasan, better known by his title Ali Muhammad Khan, was a Moghul whose ancestors came from Persia. His father had accompanied Aurangzeb to the Deccan and settled at Burhanpur. In 1120 A.H. (1708 A.D.) the Province of Gujarat was bestowed on Prince Jahandar Shah by the Emperor Bahadur Shah I as a *Jahgir*, and Mirza Muhammad was appointed *Waqa'i-nigar*, or chief Reporter, under the Prince's Minister, Seyyid Akil Khan.

Our author was then eight years old, and his father took him with him to Ahmedabad and educated him there. On his father's death the young man was appointed Superintendent of the Cloth market, and eventually was made Diwan of the Province in 1161 A.H. (1747 A.D.) at the beginning of the reign of Ahmad Shah. And from this he became known as "Khatim-ud-diwan," or the last of the Moghul Diwans of the Province, which was then [1] conquered by the Maratha forces of the Peshwa and Damaji Rao

[1] The history of the times may be found in detail in Watson's *History of Gujarat*, the *Baroda Gazetteer* (Desai and Clarke), and the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. V, Ahmedabad, p. 257).

Gaekwar. It was in 1755 A.D. that Ahmedabad was finally taken by these Southern invaders. It was in the same year that the Peshwa entered into negotiations with Governor Bourchier of Bombay for the restoration of order in Surat and the reduction of the pirate Angria. But it was not till 1759 that an expedition was prepared at Bombay resulting in the appointment of the ancestor of the present Nawab family of Surat as Governor of that port.

Such was the position when the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* was being written. It was completed about the time that Damaji joined the great Maratha army and took a creditable part in the disastrous battle of Panipat (January, 1761).

In the preface of his book our author describes the state of anarchy into which the country had fallen, and how he determined to put on record the statistical and other information which his diligent search had brought to light, having little else to do. He had as assistant a Hindu named Mithalal, and between them they worked up the book which was named the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. Its compilation appears to have taken some ten years in all, for internal evidence shows that it was begun about 1750 and finished about 1760 A.D. It consists of two volumes—a history, and a *Khatima* or Supplement. The earlier part of the history is little more than an adaptation of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, *Akbar-nama*, *Padshah-nama*, and other similar works; but the latter part is an original work derived from the author's own experience; and the same may be said of the Supplement. Ali Muhammad had exceptional opportunities; he writes of things he had himself observed; he was not only contemporary with the events described, but himself took an important part in them. No translation into English of the interesting later stages, or of the Supplement, has yet been made. The present little work attempts to remedy the omission as to the Supplement; as for the history it should be attended to later on. A few of the earlier chapters have been translated by James Bird in 1834; and they have also been used by Sir E. C. Bayley, whose book on the *History of Gujarat* was published in 1886, which we have freely used and to which we are much

indebted. I must also mention a Gujarati translation recently made by Qazi Muhammad Nizam-ud-din of Ahmedabad. This is clearly based upon the lithographed edition mentioned in the next paragraph.

Translation, or paraphrase—for in parts the original has been freely rendered and in parts it has been condensed—presents some difficulties, by reason of the obscurity which covers the real meaning of many of the technical terms used, and also because the only copy of the *Mirat* at first available was one of an edition lithographed by the Fath-ul-Karim Press of Bombay in 1888 A.D., abounding in misprints and mistakes sufficient to make a great deal of the text quite unintelligible. Fortunately, however, Prof. Nawab Ali discovered an excellent manuscript in the possession of one Nizam-ul-haqq Abbasi, a gentleman now employed in the Mangrol State. His grandfather was one Zain-ul-haqq, who transcribed the manuscript used in 1239 A.H. Zain-ul-haqq's grandfather was the Nur-ul-haqq mentioned by our author as belonging to the Munshi family of Ahmedabad.

Nizam-ul-haqq's brother, Razi-ul-haqq, has translated parts of the *Mirat* into Urdu under the title of *Aina-i-Gujarat* and this work supplies the details of our author's life which have been given above.

Besides the manuscripts used there is a fine copy made in 1842 from an earlier manuscript, then in possession of the Qazi of Ahmedabad. This copy is now in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by whom it has been kindly lent. It is not free from copyist's errors, but it is well and clearly written [1]

The *Mirat* begins with the foundation of Ahmedabad, and follows with lists of the city divisions and suburbs and so on. We then come to what the author no doubt considered the most

[1] While sending the work to the press we discovered at Cambay another rare MS., which the Administrator of that State has kindly sent to us. It is the author's own manuscript, bearing his seal on the title page and giving at the end the copyist's name, Muhammad Mukarram, who completed it in the author's life-time, Friday 24th Jumadi-us-sani 1176 A.H.

interesting and important part of his book—an account of the Mahomedan saints who lived and died in Gujarat. No one can have visited any large Indian town without noticing the mausoleums that form a striking feature of the surrounding scenery, and the isolated graves that obstruct its streets. These are at least as common in Gujarat as in other Provinces; and on special days every year they are visited and covered with flowers by pilgrims who have but little exact knowledge of the saints who lie buried in them. The *Mirat* should furnish the clue to a good many. They appear to have been almost all Sufis of one order or another. Professor Browne[1] has told us that Sufiism owed but little to Indian thought; but it is at least certain that it was accepted with alacrity by a very important body of Indian Mussalmans. It supplied a form of speculative philosophy very congenial to Indian ideas, and to the habits and characters engendered by the warm and enervating climate of the country.

We come next to a brief account of the inhabitants of Ahmedabad. Long lists are given of the sub-castes of the Brahmans and Banias, and there is a description of the various temples and *tirths* sacred to the Hindus. This is followed by an enumeration of the territorial and fiscal divisions of the Province under the Mahammadan governors, and a somewhat confused description of the various officials and their duties.

Finally, the *Mirat* devotes a few pages to a description of the natural features of the country—its rivers and mountains and sea ports—winding up with a chapter dealing with alleged marvels, recalling to the mind of the Persian student the concluding chapters of Hamdullah Mustaufi's *Nuzhat-ul-qulub*.

I have observed that a certain degree of obscurity covers the technical terms used in the *Mirat* regarding administrative and revenue matters. A brief note on this subject will be found in an appendix. I have added a second appendix, based on information kindly supplied by Mr. D. N. Apte of Baroda, in explanation of the horoscope of Ahmedabad city.

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[1] *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 300.

Ahmad's mirror is a glass which reveals to us the condition of a rich and important Province in the last days of Mughal rule, before the Hindu invaders from the Deccan had overthrown that administration. The government was hardly sympathetic towards the religion of the mass of the people, but it at least permitted the growth of great centres of trade and population which still thrive and are now every day increasing in wealth and prosperity.

C. N. SEDDON.

Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplement.

INTRODUCTION.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

Description of the foundation of the noble city of Ahmedabad and its fortifications; names of its suburbs, gardens, shrines of the saints, convents, Hindu temples, districts, parganas, police stations, and miscellaneous other matters which are herein recorded.

While writing the history certain matters were referred to a supplement. And as events continue to happen and facts go on accumulating so long as the city stands, I shall during my lifetime and my leisure hours continue collecting and recording them. And whosoever loveth the work may continue it after my death.

Verses.

In desire doth man bind his heart to life ;
And life in pleasure spendeth.
Life is based on the air that gives man breath,
And in "airy nothing" endeth.

CHAPTER I.

THE SPLENDID CITY OF AHMEDABAD.

It is one of the new cities[1] of Islam in the second region, which is under the influence of the planet Jupiter. Its longitude[2]

[1] A description of Ahmedabad, its foundation, and its buildings can be found in the *Bombay Gazetteer: Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol, XXIV ; Bayley, and other authorities. Mandelsho, who visited it in 1638 A.D., says "There is scarce any nation in the world, or any commodity in Asia, but may be seen in this city."

[2] The longitude given is, of course, reckoned, from the Fortunate Isles on the Ptolemaic system.

is 108°-40′ and latitude 230°15′; the longest days of the summer solstice are of [1] 33-8 and the shortest of 26-22. Its founder [2] was Sultan Ahmad, grandson of Muzaffar Shah. It is said that the Sultan in the year 813 A.H., the first year of his reign, after the suppression of the rebellion of his cousin Modud [3] son of Firoz Khan, arrived at the town of Asawal,[4] where he broke the power of Asa Bhil, and halted on the banks of the Sabarmati.

Finding the climate exhilarating, the Sultan in consultation with the saint Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, who was living in Sarkhej, chose an open and spacious piece of ground in the vicinity of Asawal on the eastern side of the river. The foundations were laid on Thursday the 3rd Zul-Qada (fifteen *ghaḍis* and thirty-five *palas* after sunrise "push Nachater,") corresponding with Vaiśākha Śuddha Pañchamī Samvat 1449, or 1314 of the Śaka era. The [5] horoscope is given below :—

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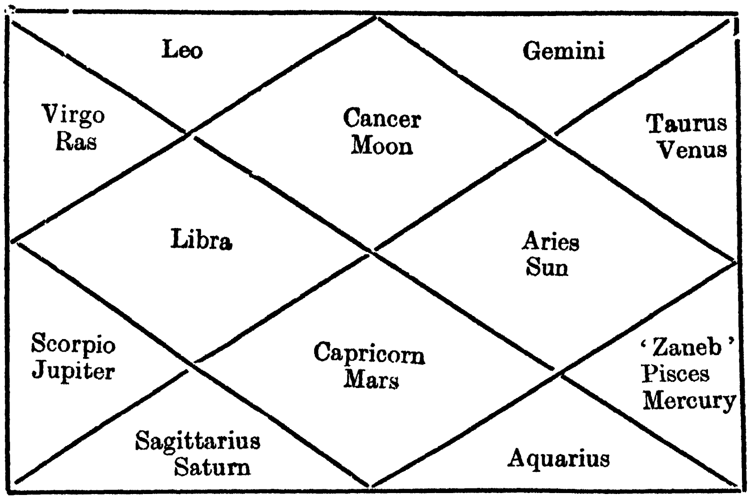
1 "Ghaḍis and Palas"—a Hindu reckoning :—60 Palas=1 Ghaḍi.
60 Ghaḍis=1 day (24 hours.)

2 Thomas Herbert, writing about 1626 A.D., says :—"Amadavad undoubtedly, seems to me to be that city Amacastis in Ptol Amadavastis in Arrhian. Howbeit, some say it has denomination from king Hamet who in the year of Mahomet 375 made it large and beautiful." This entertaining writer is not, however, always to be trusted. Aurangzeb's disgust at Ahmedabad is well-known. Early European travellers admired the city, but they had some adverse criticisms to make. Peter Della Valle, writing in 1623, found the dust very troublesome—"a thing indeed, of great disparagement to so goodly and great a City as this is."

3 Vide Bayley, page 89. Modud was the son of Firoz Khan, Ahmad's uncle and was Governor of Baroda. (Vol. I of the *Mirat.*)

4 Asawal is mentioned by Albiruni (cir. 1030 A.D.) as two days' journey from Cambay and thirty *parasangs* from Broach (*Archæological Survey*, op. cit. p. 15). In the eleventh century Karan Ghela made the town his capital, and it was the scene of several events in later history.

5 *Vide* appendix II.



Such was the position of the seven planets in the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

It is said that four Ahmads, who were well-known for their piety and righteousness, combined to lay the foundation of the city. Their names are as follows :—

1. The Chief of the sages Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, who held in his hand one end of the rope.
2. Sultan Ahmad, the reigning monarch.
3. Malik Ahmad, who is buried near the Kalupur Gate.
4. Qazi Ahmad, the successor of Hazrat-i-Ganj Ahmad. He is buried at Pattan, where the fact of his being one of the Ahmads who laid the foundation of the city is recorded in an epitaph.

The surrounding wall, which was built of burnt bricks and mortar, was completed three years later in 815 A.H. and contained 12 gates, 139 towers, 9 corners, and 6,079 battlements, extending in all to two *Karoh*[1] and one *Jarib*[2], and including within its

---

[1] *Karoh*=*kos*=about a mile and a half in Gujarat.

[2] *Jarib*=Johnson's dictionary says 104 yards; Wilson's glossary 150 yards in Sindh. Our author (on page 173) says.

42 Angushts=1 Zara.
25 Zaras =1 Jarib.
200 Jaribs =1 Kos.

bounds the citadel and the stone Jami Masjid. The height of the rampart wall is not more than seven or eight yards, except near the window of the citadel opened by Saif Khan during the reign of the Emperor Shah Jahan, where it measures fifteen yards. The length from the northern or Idar Gate (now Delhi Gate) to the southern or Jamalpur Gate is 10125 Ilahi yards, and the breadth from Jharoka Bhadr to Sarangpur on the eastern side is 2500 yards (total area of 2229 *bighas*[1] and 13 *viswas*. The following lines are quoted from the poet Halvi of Shiraz who wrote a metrical history of the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah :—

Thus sang Halvi, whose sweetness filled the air ;
A king did halt and take his ease one day
Hard by the Sabar river : there he found
An open plain, a zephyr soft, the scent
Of Cathay's musk, and springs and wells
Of purest water, all the heart desires.
And this inspired the King, and so he willed
In that fair spot his capital to build.
He called an architect to plan its walls
And palaces that touch the azure sky.
And glistening Pleiades ; so that the world
Should rival Heaven, and in the Angels' sight
Equal their own abode ; its walls should hold
The rush of heathen hordes, as that Great Wall
Held back Magog and Gog ; its stones should shine
Like Jamshed's world reflecting cup ; its courts
Deny the claims of Tartary and Chin
To eminence ; while from its dust Spahan
Should make a salve to brighten envy's eyes ;
And Naishapur of far off Khorasan
Confess that Gujarat in beauty vies.
And then he sent for those wise men whose art
Observes the stars, and knows the secret times.
They with their astrolabes apply the test,

This makes a *Jarib* about 14 or 15 of our yards, or if the Gujarat *kos* was taken by our author to be the longer *kos* of other part of India 25 yards. The length varies locally.

[1] One *bigha* equals about three-fifths of an acre; 20 *viswas* one *vasa*, 20 *vasas* one *bigha*.

And spy the circling spheres that number nine,
They mark the planets' paths, and of the stars
They see the altitude; and realise
The time to start the King's high enterprise.
Eight hundred years had passed and thirteen more
Since Islam's Prophet fled; it was the month
Of Z'ul-Qada. So, when the bricks were laid,
The Angels showered their blessings, till they rose
To touch the turquoise sky, and made
Another clime to add to those men seek,
Another mole [1] upon the Earth's fair cheek.
Nasir-ud-din Ahmad it was who built
This noble city; from his name it took
Its own, Ahmedabad; and by this name
Men honour Ahmad's faith, and Ahmad's fame.
God grant this city may not see decay,
Till men, and Heaven and Earth, shall pass away.

Names of the 12 *principal gates.*[2]

Eastern.—Sarangpur; Kalupur; and Astodiya, situated between the closed gate and the Raipur Gate of the South East in the Eastern corner.

Western.—On the banks of the river Sabar. They are Khanpur; Raikhar; and Khanjahan. Two windows, named Daricha Bagh and Khirki passage, face the Bhadar citadel, and have been opened between the Khanpur and Raikhar Gates.

Northern.—Shahpur; Idaria—now Delhigate; and Daryapur. Between Shahapur and Idaria Gates there is Halim's closed window. The reason for its being closed is not clear.

Southern.—Jamalpur; a closed gate, which is also called Dhediya (for the closing of which various reasons are offered); and Raipur.

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[1] In eastern poetry a mole is a beauty.

[2] There are now 14 principal gates open and one closed, besides three small gates. It may be added that by a recent town-planning scheme the city walls are to be removed for the sake of sanitation and the provision of building sites. The gates, however, will be preserved.

The length and breadth of the citadel called the Bhadar.[1]

The length from the bank of the Sabar to the old gate between the two high towers is 487 yards; the breadth from the stone mosque built by Sultan Ahmad to the garden gate is 400 yards. It has fourteen old towers including the one that Najm-ud-daula added, besides the royal Naqqarakhana gate, the garden gate and the court gate built during the time of the Nazims. The fort is commonly know as the Bhadar, and here the Sultans of Gujarat and the Nazims used to stay. There are various explanations of the origin of the name; the most probable is the following.

The citadel of Pattan, built by the ancient Hindu Rajas, has the same form and similar turrets; and contains a temple dedicated to the goddess Bhadra Kālī. As that place was called the Bhadar from olden times the people gave the same name to this citadel, as well as to those of Champaner and Ahmednagar.

When the city of Ahmedabad was made the capital of the Sultans of Gujarat its population gradually grew, particularly in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada, and stately palaces were built within the Bhadar. Their ruined walls are still to be seen; but alas! Death has strewn around them their master's bleached bones.

Jamshed is gone, and Alexander's pomp,
Gone the Kayanian Kings, and gone the pride
Of Kaikobad, while King Faridun's throne
Is like the Kavian banner turned to dust.

Hark to the sound from Alexander's towers,
Where is my lord, and where his hated foe?
Hark to the cry from Ctesiphon's wide bowers,
What is there left of Noshirwan the Just?

The forty columns sway with sighs and tears,
To mourn the loss of Jamshed; and the stones
Of high Khuvarnak show upon their face
Traces of tears for Numan's noble race.

---

[1] For a description of the Bhadar, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, page 275. There is a Bhadar at Baroda, as well as the places mentioned in the text.

Alp Arsalan once reigned in Naishapur,
Where is he now ? Behold the Seljuk's grave.
Where is the kingly Sanjar ? Where is he,
King Malik Shah, the great and wise and brave ?

And thus to-morrow nightingales shall cry,
Where is the poet Waiz ? Where, and why ?

The author of the *Haft Iqlim* [1] says that Ahmedabad is unique in the matter of neatness, thriving population, and beautiful buildings, and it would be no exaggeration to say that so grand and magnificent a city is to be found nowhere else. Bazars are spacious and well arranged; its inhabitants, both men and women, are handsome. And in truth a city with such beauties is rare; whence it has been called the Bride of the Kingdom. Cloth of fine texture, which is exported by land and sea, yields a profitable trade; mosques and markets abound, and suburbs 360 (some say 380) in number enlarge the city. Sultan Mahmud II built, during his reign a new city, Mahmudabad. twelve *kos* off, and made it his capital; but the road from Ahmedabad was covered by markets on both sides and houses of people, so that the two cities appeared one; and in the course of time artisans and craftsmen settled there. The art of weaving golden and silken threads into brocade, velvet, gauze, needlework and embroidery, varying in texture and dye, is unequalled in India; and the fame of Gujarat has spread to the distant countries of Iran, Turan, Turkey, and Syria. Strange to say, the art of weaving and cleaning in its supreme excellence is confined to Ahmedabad, and even a league away these crafts are inferior.

In the reign of the late Emperor Muhammad Shah [2]Raja

[1] The *Haft Iqlim* (seven climes) is written by Amin Ahmad-i-Razi in 1002 A.H., a well known geographical and biographical treatise.

[2] " Firdaus Aramgah" (resting in Paradise) refers to the Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi. The Mogul Emperors after their demise were given by way of benediction the following appellations :—

" Firdaus Makani " (abiding in Paradise) for Babur.
" Jannat Ashiyani " (nesting in the garden of heaven) for Humayun;
" Arsh Ashiyani " (nesting in the Throne of God) for Akbar;
" Jannat Makani " (abiding in heaven) for Jahangir.
" Firdaus Makani (abiding in Paradise) for Shah Jahan;
" Khuld Manzil " (staying in heaven) for Aurangzeb.

Jai Singh of Amber planted a colony of Ahmedabad weavers and fullers of his newly built town Jainagar, but the articles manufactured, notwithstanding the greatest care and handsome rewards, proved of inferior quality both as to texture and dye. The fullers attributed this to the inferiority of their tools, which were made from the wood of the *Khirni*[1] tree. The Raja, therefore, procured for them some cart loads of the necessary tools from Ahmedabad, but all efforts proved vain.

The city contains seventeen *Chaklas*[2] and eighty principal market streets. Their names are given below :—

Chaklas.

Khas Bazar, between the Bhadar and Tripolia; Pankor; Manak Chauk; Dhinkuva; Tin Limri; Bhanderipur; Idawarpur or Kabirpur, (also known as Khadiya); Raipur; Astodiya; Jamalpur; Raikhar; Khanpur; Shahpur; Idaria; Daryapur; Sadar Jahan; Johariwara. Sentinels are posted by the Kotwal at night time in all these *Chaklas* and courtyards.

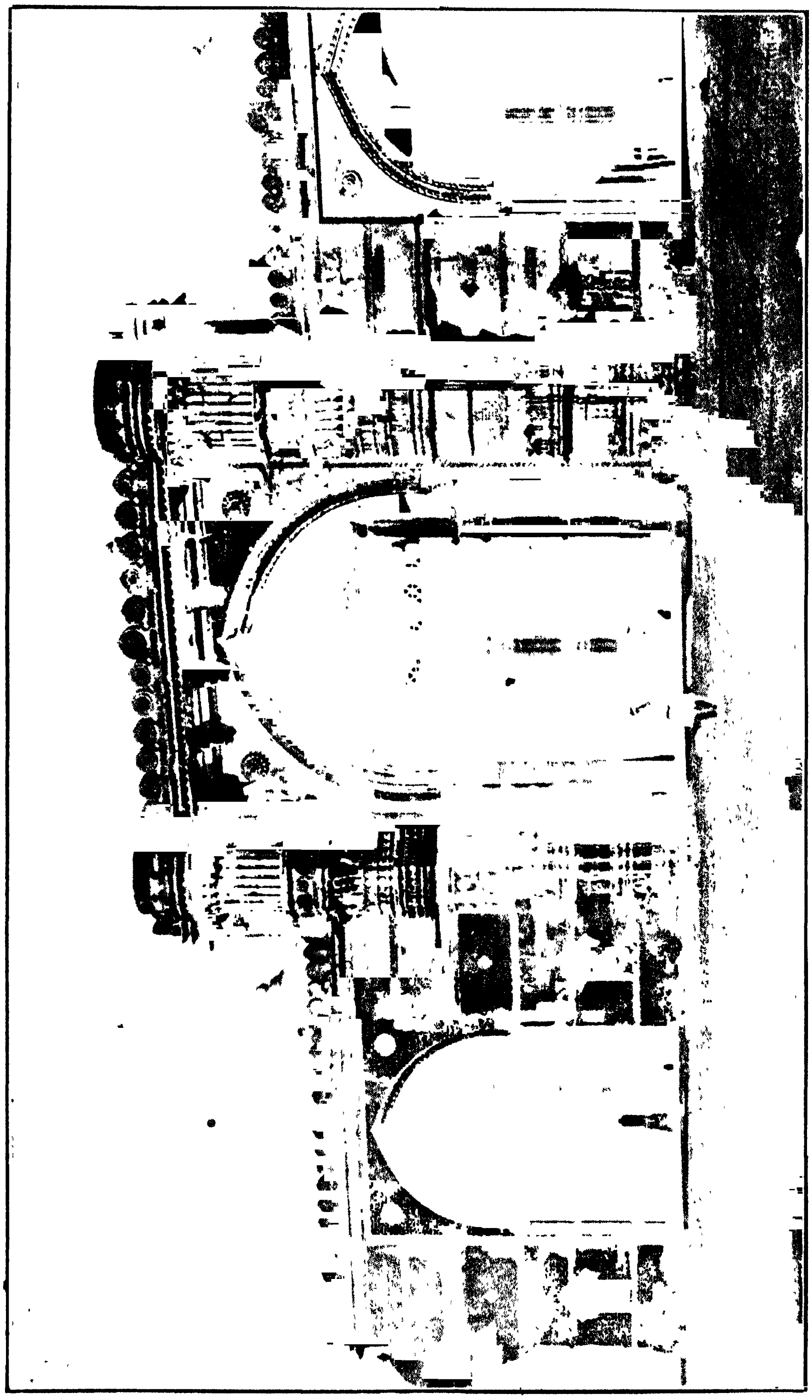
Names of Bazars and streets.

Facing Sarangpur gate :—Domniwara street, near Shaikh Siraj's house; Akbarpur street (formerly known as Kharia, but in the reign of the Emperor Akbar the Khatris who lived there named it Akbarpur); Astodiya street; Burhan-ul-mulk street, in the Chakla Idar; Buddupur street; Bazar-i-khas street, in front of the Bhadar; Bazar Halim street, near Lal Darwaza; Bazar Kusa street, near Shaikh-ul-Islam's Madrasa; Sikandar Khan street, near Khamsa; Itimad-ul-mulk street at Khanpur; Alu Khan Gujarati's street, near Shah Ali Raza's Tomb; Bechatri street, near Sankriseri; Paibari street, near Pankor; Tripolia street; Tajpur street; Bhanderipur street; Bhida street, near the house of the former minister 'Itimad Khan; Pilpili street or Dabandpili; the street facing Khanjahan gate; Pankor street; Nanapa's street; Akhalia street; Jamalpur street; Jalalpur

---

[1] 'Khirni':—known in Gujarat as the 'Rayyan' (Mimusops hexandra).

[2] 'Chakla' :—a spot where four roads meet; a small market (Belsare's *Gujarati dictionary*). These are the main city wards (*Bombay Gazetteer* p. 317).



I.—Jumma Masjid, Ahmedabad.

street; Johariwara street; Jhanavri street at Manak Chauk; Raibirkala street; Akha Setti's well street; Changarpur street; Daryapur street; Bhairam's well street (known as the stone well); Jughar Khan street; Hira the carpenter's street, near Sankriseri; Khwaja Yusuf street; Khawas-ul-mulk street, behind Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan's inn; Khudawand Khan street; Haji street; Daryapur street; Raikhar street; Daulat Khan street; Dhikva street; Darya Khan Mahram street; Shaikh Nur Samarqandi street; Dyers' street; Akabi's street; Rani Sirani street; Raipur street; Rukn-ul-mulk street; Razi-ul-mulk street; Singh Bhagan street; Sukha street; Ghias-ud-din street; Shah Makob street, near the house of the late Nazim Shujaat Khan; 'Itimad Khan's Inn street; Saif Khan street, or Sarai Nagori; Sikandar Khan street, or Sarai Khedkar; Tailors' street; Shaikh Farid, or Bukhara, street; Muhammad Bhatti Sarai street, by the side of Tripolia; Sarai Dastur Khan street, near Astodiya; Aziz-ul-mulk street, near Jamalpur; Alam Burhan street, or Patwa Sri; Ghalib Khan and Raipur street; Faridpur street, in Chakla Kalupur; Khajauri street, near Walandi's Haweli; Gondi street, on the left of Pankor; Gori Khan street; Kandoi Siri street, near Pankor; Kamil-ul-mulk street, behind Rani Rup Mohani's mosque; Kothri Halim street; Lalbai street; Malik Nasis street, near Sultan Ahmad's tomb; Malik-i-Banadir (ports) street, in the *Chakla* of Bhanderipur; Muhafiz Khan's mosque street, in the Idar Chakla: Manak Chouk street; Hazira-i-Rani street.

Certain new lanes have also been formed, passing through the ruins of those stately palaces built by the princes and the nobles, which are now in the course of time levelled to the ground, where grass now grows and the cultivator's spade is working.

Verse.

Once o'er a palace gate I read a line,
Which made my heart to bleed, my soul repine.
"Fair is the field of life and full of blooms;
Yet is it marked for death; a field of tombs."

Quatrain.

Behold a palace reaching to the sky,
Where kings were wont to laugh and wont to sigh;

And on its turrets now behold a dove,
[1] Cooing, Where is the man who shall not die ?

Mosques.

As the kings of Gujarat and their nobles, according to the saying "Men follow the creed of their Rulers," were zealous in the propagation of the Faith, they procured stones from distant places and built mosques, many of which are still existing named after the princes and nobles who had built them. Four hundred and fifty, and some say 500, such mosques of stone, with pillars and domes beautifully and solidly built, are found within the city and outside it; and in some of them, especially in the mosques of Muazzam Khan's *Pura* and Khudawand Khan, and the mosque now known as Achutkoki's (built by Malik Baha-ud-din,[2] who was brother of Malik Sarang and entitled Ikhtiyar-ul-mulk) their architects have done splendid work. Those who have actual experience say that the two big minarets built before the arch are such that if one is shaken—and a single man can shake it—the other also, which is at a distance, is affected. This is a wonder, and God knows best. The mosques within and without the city are innumerable, but many of them, except those built by the nobles of Gujarat, are now uncared for and in a dilapidated condition.

Government used to look after their repair till the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and then they were left to themselves.

Suburbs and Puras outside the City.

As in the beginning the city was not thickly populated the Sultans and their nobles used to select plots for their palaces, and the houses of their attendants were built by the side of them. The whole block was called a *Pura*, such as Akbarpur, Kalupur, Tajpur, Jamalpur, etc., which have been mentioned above in the list of Bazars and streets. In the course of time these *Puras* increased in number, and the population of the city also grew. It

[1] Persian کو (ku)=where ? The cooing of a dove is interpreted as a cry of 'where' *i.e.,* Where are the heroes of old ?

[2] Vazir of Mahmud Begada and husband of Bibi Achut Koki. *See* Chapter XV, 1, p. 64. *Archæological Survey, Western India* (Ahmedabad).

is said that in olden times there were 360, and some say 380, such *Puras*. This difference was due, perhaps, to the fact that in the reign of Akbar some of more distant of these suburbs were considered separate villages such as Isanpur, Asarwa, Aspur, Samipur, Inayatpur, Shaikhpur, etc. These *Puras* had a big stone mosque built in each of them. A *Pura* near the city sometimes fell into decay; and then the Governor or some nobleman would rebuild it and call it after his own name.

These *Puras* were like a city. The author of the Tazkirat-ul-mulk says that Usmanpur had at least one thousand shops, and in all of them were traders, artizans, craftsmen, Government servants, and military people, both Hindu and Muslim, until quarrels and mismanagement ruined them. The present author has himself seen these *Puras* in flourishing condition, and stately buildings in them, but now they are all in ruins, and perhaps they will soon be all forgotten save for a few mosques and gates. Below are given the names of them—some of which were renamed by the Governors after the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar.

Names of Puras—South of the river Sabarmati.

Shahpur (towards the South near the river and originally peopled). In the reign of Aurangzeb the Chief Qazi Khwaja Abdulla named it Qazipur. It has a stone mosque built by Baha-ud-din[1] the Amir who had the title of Ikhtiyar-ul-mulk. This mosque is now known as Achutkoki.

Hajipur founded by Haji Baha-ud-din (known as Azud-ul-mulk and one of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud Begada). The mosque was also built by him.

Daryapur, founded by Darya Khan, another of the nobles of the said Sultan. He built a brick dome under which he is buried—the largest domed tomb in the whole kingdom of Gujarat.

Multanpur—founder unknown.

Maqsudpur—originally a suburb, but in the time of Shah Jahan's viceroyalty it was taken up for the Bagh-i-Shahi.

Mahpur—founder unknown.

Sherpur—now a burial ground.

[1] One of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud Begada; *see* above.

Lodhipur—an old suburb.

Panahpur—Bahadur Khan, a Governor in the reign of Aurangzeb, re-populated this suburb and named it Muhammad Panah.

Jahangirpur—There was an old *Pura* here; when Jahangir came to Gujarat it was renamed after him.

Sikandarpur, formerly Haibatpur, founded by Haibat Khan, one of the Gujarati nobles; it has a stone mosque.

Asarwa, an old *Pura* before the foundation of the city, but now included in Haveli Pargana.

Haripur founded by Haribai in the time of the Sultans of Gujarat. It has a large well built reservoir, a mosque, and the founder's tomb. Many weavers and artizans have settled here. Owing to the vicinity of Asarwa it is not so populous as it would otherwise be.

Bibipur. In the time of the Sultans of Gujarat Bibi Maka, a well-known Sufi belonging to the Chishti family, founded this place and settled here. Her tomb, a mosque, and a convent still exist.

Harharpur, Ruppur and Kalupur—founded by Haji Kalu,[1] one of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud.

Rasulpur, Ghalipur, Seyyidabad (better known as Saraspur), Mithapur, Jamnapur, Shahipur and Salimpur—all old suburbs.

Nurullahpur, by the side of Saraspur—founded by Shaikh Nur Muhammad entitled Amanat Khan, in the reign of the martyred king Muhammad Farrukhsiyar.

Khimpur, Nasirpur, Sirkuvara, Rasulpur, Parmapur, are old foundations; their popular names are not known.

Sarangpur, on the outskirts of the city, known also as Bidanpura and founded by Malik Sarang,[2] better known as Qivam-ul-mulk, one of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud. It has a grand auspicious mosque, which is named after the architect Sidi Bashir who is buried here. In the year 1171 A. H. it was demolished by Momin Khan when being besieged by Sadāśiva Ramāchandra (as mentioned in the history).

Afzalpur, founded by Afzal Khan Bambani,[3] one of the nobles

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[1] Malik Kalu afterwards 'Imad-ul-mulk. *See* Bayley, p. 202.

[2] Bayley, p. 238.

[3] *Vide*, p. 87.

of Sultan Mahmud II. It has a mosque and rest house; its founder's tomb also is in it.

Beganpur—an old foundation.

Tughanpur—Tughan,[1] one of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud—and Rajpur, old habitations, are a city in themselves, where merchants and Government servants, and a large number of Borahs of the Shia sect who are great traders both by land and sea, dwelt. Here were fine buildings on which considerable sums were spent.

Gomtipur—founder not known; it is thinly populated.

Kansiwara, Lalpur, Moazzampur, and Moazzamabad—all old suburbs.

[2] Manjhanpur—its founder was Seyyid Masud, one of the grandsons of Shah Alam the saint.

Babipur—founded by Safdar Khan Babi.

Nawapura, Ganjpura, and Sultanpur—founded by Seyyid Abdur Rahim Rafai, who is buried here.

Kishorpur founded by Kishor Das, the agent of Safdar Khan. It has a small enclosure and an ordinary house built by the said agent.

Masumpur—founded by Masum Quli, known as Shujaat Khan, who was killed here.

Murad Ganj—founded during the viceroyalty of Prince Murad Bakhsh.

Jamnapur; Begampur; and Rahmatpur, better known as Wahab Ganj, founded by the chief Qazi Abdul Wahab in the reign of Aurangzeb. In those days the fiscal division of the Cloth Market[3] belonged to the Qazi's son-in-law Muhammad Jamal. It was so arranged that different kinds of aromatic roots and drugs—imports from Surat—should be sold here free of excise duty, so as to increase the population and prosperity of the suburb.

Nanipur—an old suburb and in it there is now a small stronghold for the Faujdar.

Seyyidpur—near the Astodiya Gate—founded by [4]Seyyid

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1 Afterwards Farhat-ul-mulk. *See* Bayley, p. 202.

2 *See* p. 115, Shah Alam was called Manjhan Miyan.

3 *See* p. 177.

4 Bayley (p. 133) says 'Alaullah', but this may be a mistake.

Ataullah, one of the nobles of Sultan Ahmad. His title was Qiwam-ul-mulk, and he is buried here.

Changezpur—founded by Changez Khan, the slave of Sultan Mahmud II. As stated in the previous chapter the slave rebelled against his master.

Likupur; and Kandal—old suburbs.

Bahadur Ganj—founded by Sultan Bahadur Gujarati.

Akrampur; and Mufakhirpur—founded by the Chief Suba Ikram-ud-din and his brother Abdul Mufakhir Khan in the reign of Aurangzeb.

Pirpura and Nawapura—old suburbs.

Alimpur—founded by [1]Khudawand Khan, better known as Malik Alim, one of the nobles of Sultan Ahmad who was the son-in-law of Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Ahmad. It has a mosque where the founder is buried. The tomb of Shaikh Kamal of Malwa is behind the mosque.

Farrukhpur, known as Qazipur, founded by Qazi Abul Farah Khan in the reign of Aurangzeb. He built here a good mosque and a house for himself where he administered justice. The author has seen it many a time, but now it is all in ruins.

Nur Ganj—named after Nur Jahan Begam at the time when Jahangir came to Gujarat on a hunting expedition. Kharadost-poliya is an old settlement. The tomb of Taj Khan Narali, a Gujarati noble who built the Mausoleum of Hazrat-i-Shah, is here.

Zorawarpur founded by Jawanmard Khan Babi, near the old Idgah (dedicated to his youngest son) in the reign or Farrukh-siyar.

Rasulabad founded by Hazrat-i-Shah Alam, whose tomb is also here. Since his time it has been inhabited by his descendants and by Seyyids; the surrounding villages were bestowed on them by the Government for their maintenance and charitable purposes. So these people lived comfortably, and gradually made fine houses and gardens. None of the Nazims or officers troubled the inhabitants, owing to the respect paid to the Saint and the Seyyid. From olden times the Saint's successors have been empowered to decide cases and settle the disputes of the inhabit-

[1] For anecdotes about Khudawand Khan, *see* Bayley, pp. 169, 191, 202, 236.

ants and traders. A separate Qazi was also appointed and attached to the Dargah.

Rasulabad, Khamandrolpura Seyyid Hamidpura; Seyyid Rizwikhan; Firozpur; Hasanpur; Baglipur; Erandpur, and Bahauddinpur—all these *Puras* were once in a flourishing condition, but were ruined during the regime of Maharaja Abhe Singh, as mentioned in the previous chapters.

Pura Rizwikhan—founded by Rizwikhan, who was a viceroy in the time of Aurangzeb.

Erandpur, was an old suburb; and also Khizarpur.

Hasanpur, Mahmudpur, and Seyyid Hamidpura, were founded by the grandsons of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam, who built fine houses here.

Khamandrol existed from the time of the Sultans of Gujarat. Sultan Qutb-ud-din, son of Sultan Muhammad, built a place here and used to stay here at times; but now it is all in ruins.

Isanpur, between Rasulabad and Batwa. Hazrat-i-Shah Alam used to call it "Najib-ut-tarafain" (noble on both sides—father and mother). It was founded by Malik Isan, surnamed Nizam-ul-mulk, one of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud.

A picturesque stone mosque by the road side, a tank, the founder's tomb, a garden and a wall of bricks and mortar within which the people lived, are still existing. Mango gardens and *khirni* trees are found outside the rampart wall, and the whole *Pura*, included in the Pargana Haveli,[1] is an endowment for the upkeep of the mausoleum of Shah Alam.

Nawabas—founder unknown.

Khudanpura, founded by Malik Khudan one of the Gujarati nobles. It has a mosque and its founder's tomb. As some of the disciples and attendants of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam lived here, it was called *Khedam* the diminutive form of *Khadim* (a servant). Here also is Shaikh Ali Khatib's tomb. Bharampur, Majhuri, and Asawal are old suburbs.

Qutbpur—perhaps when Hazrat-i-Shah Alam lived here it was named after him, but it is now a heap of ruins.

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[1] *i.e.*, Haveli Ahmedabad. The word *Haveli* when used such the name of a large city denotes the revenue Sub-division, or *pargana* (usually a small one) in which the city is immediately situated. (Bayley, p. 11, note.)

Qasimpur near the river Sabar, west of the city. One Mir Qasim founded it in the reign of Aurangzeb, and his tomb is here.

Rajupur founded by the grandsons of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam.

Khanpur, by the side of the river Sabar, founded by Seyyid Hasan Khan Barcha in the reign of Aurangzeb. It has a garden and the Seyyid's tomb.

Names of Puras—On the other bank of the River Sabarmati.

An account of the old population has been given in connection with the villages of the Haveli Pargana.

Usmanpur, founded by Seyyid Usman, one of the successors of the Saint Qutb-i-Alam. He was given by his preceptor the title of "The Candle of Proof." A stone mosque and the tomb of the Seyyid are fine and attractive buildings. As previously stated the author of *Tazkirat-ul-mulk* has described it as a flourishing suburb. The present writer has himself seen how populous it was. Different kinds of drugs, especially myrabolams, ghee, and other imports of the capital, were sold in quantities; but now it looks deserted.

Khanpur, opposite the city gate; and Norangpur, with only a few inhabitants, founded by Shujaat Khan in the reign of Aurangzeb.

Abdulpur, Ferozpur, and Azdarpur, founded by the Afghans in former times.

Salabatpur, founded by Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi.

Sharqpur, founded by Malik Sharq, a slave of Sultan Mahmud II. In the reign of Shah Jahan Ghazi-ud-din Husain, by royal command, made a garden. Here also is his tomb.

Shadmanpur, founded by Shadman, son of Azam Khan Kokaltash in the reign of Akbar.

Faridabad; Emadulpur—old suburbs of the Afghans.

Shaikhpur, founded by Shaikh Rahmatullah, son of the Saint Shaikh Azizullah Siddiq, the Pir of Sultan Mahmud Begada. It has the Shaikh's tomb and a mosque.

Sultanpur, also called Saltmandi; Kasimpur; Nasirabad; and Fatehpur; old suburbs.

Kamaluddinpur founded by Jawanmard Khan Babi, and named after his son.

Isapur ; Rahimpur ; and Miranpur—old villas.

Kochrab, and Palri ; included in Pargana Haveli.

About six or seven thousand Afghan soldiers, who followed Muzaffar Shah and Muhammad Shah and migrated from Upper India, have settled in these *Puras*. The present writer well remembers their noble descendants, but alas! no light now flickers from their ruined houses.

Gardens in the environs of the city.

In former times the Sultans of Gujarat, their nobles and Nazims, and the rich, had beautiful gardens full of fruits and flowers, pleasant avenues, fountains, and canals. The following verses will give an idea of these gardens :—

Verses.

The purest waters flow here,
The dew drops clothe the trees,
And jewelled flowers grow here,
A-waving in the breeze.

The trees are like fair maidens,
The fairest of the fair.
The birds sing in their branches,
So blithe and free from care.

On every leaf the cypress tall,
Bears Heaven's command [1] " to bless us all."

Such were the gardens, but alas! thorns and thistles now grow where they were, and many of them have been sold by their inheritors and are turned into farms for cultivation. I shall, therefore, mention only those gardens which belong to the Government.

Bagh-i-Nagina—Between the eastern and southern outskirts of the city adjacent to the houses in the *Puras*. It appears

[1] A quotation from the *Quran* (Ch. XIII).
Tubá-lahum wa husnu maáb
' Blessing for them and a good abode (for them in Paradise)'.
Tradition describes the *Tuba* as a ' Blessed Tree ' in Paradise.

2

like a precious stone on a ring[1] formed by the Kankariya Tank, which was built by Sultan Qutb-ud-din, the grandson of Sultan Ahmad the founder of Ahmedabad. This small garden is beautifully laid out, and though it is not so large it looks delightful as it is in the middle of the tank. The bridge over the tank has forty-four arches; but now some of them have fallen, blocking the passage. During the reign of Muiz-ud-daula some of the fallen arches were rebuilt. During the viceroyalty of the heir-apparent two pairs of oxen for drawing water and four gardeners were appointed.

Kankariya Tank or *Qutbi Reservoir*[2]:—Length 750 Ilahi yards, and of circular form as usual. The total area is equal to 4,50,000 yards or 125 *bighas*, as each *bigha* equals 3,600 yards. The steps round it are made of stone and cement.

Origin.—Literally *Kaṅkariyā* means 'pebbly.' It is said that Sultan Qutb-ud-din wanted to kill his half brother Fateh Khan (known afterwards as Sultan Mahmud Begada) who with his mother Bibi Moghli was under the guardianship of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam, who had taken to wife Bibi Moghli after the death of her sister Bibi Mirki (*see* Mirat-i-Sikandari). So the Sultan began to construct the tank and the Nagina Garden, hoping to capture Fateh Khan if he happened to come wandering there. But the Prince never came. One day Hazrat-i-Shah Alam passed through the excavations, and cut his foot on a pebble. "What a pebble!" said the saint; and so it was called *Kaṅkariyā* (pebbly).

Others say[3] that the Sultan requested the saint to choose a site for the tank and the garden, and therefore scattered some pebbles on the spot he selected, which was then excavated and named Kankariya. The Sultan's desire was to build avenues

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1 The Nagina Bagh is in the middle of the Kankariya Tank.

2 The translation is literally as follows:—

The length 750 *zara's* by the Ilahi *gaz*, and in breadth circular, as is the rule; a fifth part is 750,000 *zara's*; each *bigha* is 3,600 *gaz*; so that the total area is 125 *bighas*.

For the tank *see* Chapter XIII, p. 52 of the *Archæological Survey, Western India* (Ahmedabad). It is a regular polygon of 34 sides; diameter 683 yards; area 76 acres—or practically 125 *bighas*.

3 Some say that the tank got its name from a pebble which got into the King's shoe when he went to see the place.

and fine buildings round about the tank, but he died soon after and his plan came to nought.

Couplet.

Sit by a running stream, and behold how its waters flow.
Truly is this a type that shows how our Life shall go.

On the southern side of the tank an unfinished 'Mogra'[1] garden, some houses, fountains, and reservoirs, are still to be seen.

Shah Bari—Bari in Hindi means a 'garden'; so this was called "the Royal Garden"; it was built by one of the Sultans of Gujarat in Faizabad hamlet two *kos* from the city on the southern bank of the Sabarmati. It has mansions, and an enclosure of burnt bricks, with two gates on the north and the south, and marble pavements, covering sixty-two *bighas*. Outside the garden fifty *bighas* were attached to it, with certain buildings which are now in ruins. It was managed by Government till the end of the viceroyalty of Mubariz-ul-mulk, and had four pairs of oxen for irrigation and eight gardeners and sweepers. From the time of Maharaja Abhe Singh its income has been appropriated by the Nazims.

Bagh-i-Firdaus—In the village of Katrar in Pargana Haveli, made by Sultan Mahmud Begada three *kos* off the city on the east side, with an enclosure and turrets. The author of the Mirat-i-Sikandari gives its length as five *kos* and breadth one, but it is all in ruins except a portion of the enclosure and the gate. It is said that the Sultan planted nine hundred thousand mango, *khirni*, and myrobolam trees, and so it was called 'Naolakha' garden. The income from it is included in the revenues of Pargana Haveli.

Bagh-i-Sha'ban—In the village of Rakhyal one *kos* from the city on the east side. Malik Sharq, [2]the slave of Sultan Muhammad, son of the founder of Ahmedabad, Sultan Ahmad, was appointed Vazir in the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din with the title of Malik Sha'ban. This pleasant garden, surrounded by a wall of

[1] *Mogra* the Indian jasmine shrub.

[2] *Vide* Bayley, p. 236, and *Archæological Survey*, p. 54, where details of the life of Malik Sha'ban, taken from the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, are given.

burnt brick and including beautiful buildings, parks, a mosque, a tank with stone steps, and a sunken well, was made by the Malik, who in the reign of Sultan Mahmud resigned his post, and passed his time here as a recluse devoted to the service of God till his death. His remains lie buried here, and the income of the garden was appropriated by the Nazim within whose charge was Rakhyal.

Halela Garden—In the village of Rakhyal one *kos* from the city on the east. Here were three old myrobolam trees yielding fruit every year; two of them have dried up, and the remaining one existed at least till the time of Najm-ud-daula; but its fruit was inferior owing to lack of proper care. Government engaged a gardener and a peon, who were paid from the income of Rakhyal. An enclosing wall of burnt brick was built round the garden. There was a well inside, and a part of the land was kept for flowers. Every year confection of its fruit, prepared under the supervision of the steward, was sent to the Emperor. In the course of time the Nazims reserved it for themselves, and now the last tree has also withered away.

Rustam Bagh—On the north, by the side of the river Sabar. Rustam Khan, one of the Gujarati nobles, constructed it, with an enclosure, a mansion, six wells, and a stone gate, covering in all sixty *bighas*. Later on this land was used for the palace of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah.

Rose Garden and Mulberry Grove—Close to each other near Rustam Bagh, dating from the time of the Sultans of Gujarat, and with buildings inside. Up to the beginning of the viceroyalty of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah rose water for the Emperor was extracted from the flowers. But when the prince built a mansion here, and stayed for three years, it ceased to exist as a garden, and is used as a farm for the cultivation of millet and *bajri*.

Bagh-i-Shahi [1]—When the province of Gujarat was governed by the agents of Prince Shah Jahan, the land of Maqsudpur,

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[1] Shah Jahan was Viceroy 1616—1622 A.D. The Shahi Bagh, now the residence of the Commissioner, N. D., is said to have been made in order to provide work for the poor in a season of scarcity. *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 283.

which was attached to the Pargana Haveli, was acquired under the Prince's order, and a rampart wall on the river side opposite the Idaria Gate was erected, enclosing fine buildings, porches, seats, twelve towers, eleven wells, a canal passing round the building, and many reservoirs—covering in all 105 *bighas* and 3 *biswas*. There is no other garden in this country which has so many beautiful and costly buildings and delightful avenues. From its gate to Hajipur the road on both sides is shaded by tall, green, trees, beyond which lie the beautiful gardens of the Nazims and nobles. The whole scene appeared as a dream in emerald. One hundred pairs of oxen for irrigation, seventy gardeners, a steward, a treasurer, and seven peons and sweepers, were appointed for this garden, and the expenditure on repairs, etc., was annually defrayed from the royal treasury. But when the Moghal Government grew weak, greedy Nazims got hold of it and the Deccani troops cut down its trees and plundered it. The two storied royal tower, in the time of Najm-ud-daula's rule, collapsed during a flood, with many of the buildings. All the fruit trees and flower plants have withered, and nothing is seen here except a few red tamarind trees which are commonly found in this country, and the strong tasting fruit of which is exported to Arabia and the countries of Persia. The whole of this beautiful garden, where all these fragrant flowers bloomed, is turned into a great field for the cultivation of millet.

Farman Bari—On the other side of the river Sabar half a *kos* from the city on the west. It has a rampart wall with a gate and a small mansion belonging to Government from former times and now in ruins. In the reign of the martyred king (Farrukhsiyar) one Muhammad Muiz of the Buyutat[1] office sold it to Firoz Khan Jalori, who rebuilt and renamed it.

Fateh Bagh[2]—In Sarkhej, on the river side west of the city three *kos* off. In the reign of Akbar, Mirza Khan Khankhanan, son of Behram Khan, in commemoration of his victory over the Deccan Sultan Muzaffar Hussain, built a rampart with towers, houses, and canals, and called it Fateh Bagh. As the village was

1 *Buyutat* an office for registering the effects of deceased persons.

2 'Victory Garden.'

part of the *Jagir* of the Nazims, they in course of time treated it as their own property. A portion of the building and the rampart are still standing, but the garden is now just a farm.

Jit Bagh—In the reign of Jahangir, Saif Khan, when he put to flight Abdulla Khan Firoz-jang, made this garden in the village of Jaitalpur belonging to Pargana Haveli in commemoration of his victory. It is now included in the village lands.

Reservoirs.

Baoli Dada Hari—A *baoli* is a kind of well with a wide open mouth with steps leading to the level of the water, so that any one descending may get water easily. From ancient times such costly wells were constructed by Hindus and Mahomedans alike as a form of charity to the people. A very large number of such wells exists, a detailed list of which would be too long.

The most prominent of them all as regards solid structure and sweet water is the *baoli* of Dada Hari,[1] a person who founded a *Pura* of his own name at Asarwa. There is an inscription in Arabic and Hindi on the edge of the *baoli*, which says that in the year 960 A.H., corresponding with 1556 Vikrama and 1421 Śāli-vāhana, in the reign of Sultan Mahmud II the enormous sum of 3,29,000 *mahmudis*[2] was spent on the construction of this three storied *baoli* and the massive pillars on which it rests. Two storeys are always under water, except in famine times when one is dry. A mosque and the tomb of Dada Hari are by the side of the well.

CHAPTER II.

SHRINES OF THE SAINTS BURIED IN THIS LAND.

The Sultans of Gujarat were zealous in propagating the faith of Islam and defending it, and so many learned divines, sages,

[1] Elsewhere Dada Harir, and Dhai (Nurse) Harir's well. 1556 Sambat =1500 A.D. From the Arabic inscription on the well the date is 1485 A.D. Vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 282.

[2] Our Author gives about 162 rupees to 200 *mahmudis*. The value of a *mahmudi* varied. Herbert writes :—" A *Mamoody* is one shilling, a *Roopee* two shillings and three pence."

and men of righteousness, from various places were invited with all honour to settle in this land, and they were given generous stipends and royal patronage. Some of them yearning to preach to the people came over of their own accord and settled here, pleased by the reverential attitude of the Sultans towards religious heads. They passed their earthly life here in peace, and their sanctified remains now lie buried here—especially at Pattan which is called "Piran Pattan."[1] It is said that, before the establishment of Islam in India as a ruling power, some of the champions of the faith who came here and passed away, either as martyrs or dying a natural death, have left their shrines in Cambay. Some of them are said to belong to the "Taba'-at-tabi'in."[1] It is difficult to record, after the lapse of centuries and untoward incidents, the advent and passing away of these saints and sages, but as I can hardly write this book without some reference to those holy men I shall quote from the memoirs of the learned divine Qazi Muhammad Rukn-ul-haqq son of the late Maulana Nur-ud-din, who at my request was kind enough to collect and record material for this history.

Although the foundation of Cambay and Pattan is more ancient I shall begin with Ahmedabad the capital of the country, and then turn to other places.

The Holy Foot-print.

The Prophet's foot-print was first brought to Ahmedabad in the year 988 A.H. in the reign of Akbar, as mentioned in the preceding chapters. I shall first describe this holy relic.

Seyyid Abu Turab was the grandson of Seyyid Mir, who in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada, came from Shiraz, and being honoured by the Sultan settled at Muhammadabad, better known as Champaner, the climate of which suited him, and where he passed his life and was buried. When Akbar conquered Gujarat, Seyyid Abu Turab waited on the Emperor and was received

[1] تبع التابعين، 'the Followers of the Followers'—those who conversed with those who conversed with the companions of Muhammad. Traditions related by them are received, but are of less authority than those related by persons who had seen the Prophet. (Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam.* See also Browne, *Literary History of Persia,* Vol. I. p. 297— quotation from *al-Qushairi.*)

with due honour, and was sent that same year as leader of the Indian pilgrims to Mecca. On his return the Seyyid brought with him the Prophet's Footprint, which was deposited at Asawal near the city. By royal command a domed edifice was erected over it and completed in six years time. Shaikh Faiz, the author of the treatise called the *Kadamia* has composed the following chronogram :—

A building like the dome of Al Batha,[1]
Round which by God's decree the pious go;
It shows the builder's aim and moves the heart,
It shows the Prophet's faith to high and low.

Quatrain.

He is the king, who made the nights like days,
The stone whereon he trod declares his praise.
Yet not a foot-print this; the stone itself
To fit his foot before he comes essays.

The white impression on the black stone stands in bold relief. This relic was preserved here till the devastation of the country by the Marathas. Certain wicked persons wanted to remove it at night, but the descendants of the Mir discovered the plot and safely brought the stone into the city and under their care. Some of the grandsons of the Mir narrate that once or twice a year—on the 10th Muharram and the 12th Rabi-ul-avval drops like perspiration used to appear on the toe and running down the foot filled the cavity near the heel. The wondering devotees used to take this holy water. But this has not occurred for a long time now.

There are two other footprints attached to the grave of Seyyid Muhammad Maqbul Alam, the successor of Shah Alam, but they differ somewhat from the first one, and the exact date when they were brought here is also not known.

Qutb-i-Alam Seyyid Burhan-ud-din Abu Muhammad Abdallah Bukhari.

He was the son of Seyyid Nasir-ud-din Muhammad, son of the chief of the saints Makhdum-i-Jahanian of Bukhara,

[1] بطحا A valley of pebbles; refers to Mecca.

who was descendant of Seyyid Ja'far Musanna brother of the Imam Hasan Askari.[1] He was born on Monday morning on the 14th Rajab in the year 790 A.H. His father died when he was ten years old, so his uncle Shah Raju Qattal became his guardian and taught him for two years. Then he gave him the sword, its sheath, and the pillow, which were relics of his ancestors, and sent him towards Gujarat where he was to preach. So with his mother Bibi Hajira, known as Saadat Khatun, he came to Pattan in the year 802 A.H. As instructed by Seyyid Raju, Shaikh Rukn-ud-din, grandson of Farid Shaikh Shakar Ganj, who was then staying there, undertook the education of the young Seyyid. It is said that Sultan Muzzaffar, who was a disciple of Makhdum-i-Jahanian, hearing of the arrival of the saint's grandson went out to receive him with due honours. At Pattan the Seyyid acquired book knowledge from Maulana[2] Ali Sher. When Sultan Ahmad founded the city of Ahmedabad, the Seyyid was asked to come to the capital. The Sultan, himself a poet, composed an ode in praise of the Seyyid and recited it, standing before him after the manner of the poets. The opening lines run thus:—

> Burhan, the 'Proof,' our polar star;
> Our pattern and our guide.
> The Proof, in whose convincing truth
> We, and all men, confide.

After reciting the ode the Sultan asked for his reward "My father's father," said the Seyyid, "hath already blessed thee."

"But," replied the Sultan, "that blessing is for the kingdom and my family. I now want a blessing for this new city."

"The city will last for ever by the favour of God the Merciful" said the Seyyid.

For some time the Seyyid stayed in old Asawal by the river side, where a mosque was built for him. Later on he

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[1] The Eleventh Shia Imam, buried at Samarra, 260 A.D. Samarra replaced Baghdad as the Abbasid capital from 222 to 279 A.H. See O'Leary's *Fatimid Khalifate*, p. 10.

[2] Buried at Sarkhej.

shifted to the village of Batwa[1] which was bestowed on him by the Sultan.

Many miracles are attributed to the Seyyid, and I will cite one here.

One night the Saint rose for his midnight prayer[2]; suddenly his foot struck something in the darkness and was made to bleed. "What is it?" said the Saint, "a piece of wood, or iron, or stone?" Next morning the thing was discovered, possessing the properties of all three—wood, iron, and stone! The Saint ordered it to be buried, and pronounced a curse on whomsoever dug it out, that he should have no offspring to survive him. One of the disciples after the Saint's demise, declaring that he did not mind whether his offspring survived him or not, dug it out. Half of this piece was taken by the Emperor Akbar who preserved it in his capital, and the other half is kept here as a sacred relic.

The Saint died on the morning of the 8th Zu'l-hijja in the year 857 A.H. at the age of 67 years, 4 months, and 4 days.

Matla'i-i-yaum-ut-tarviyat [3] is the chronogram, [4] giving the year 857.

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[1] For the village Batwa, and the Bukharia Darvish Seyyids, see *Archæological Survey*, Chapter XVI, p. 60

[2] *Tahajjud* 'being awake' a prayer repeated during the night. "Some very religious Sunnis say a sixth prayer, *tahajjud*, at midnight, and a seventh called *Ishrak*, two hours after the morning prayers ...... Some of them (*i.e.*, the Shiahs) say also the midnight *tahajjud* prayers". (*Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 90.)

[3] The rising of the day of Tarviyat—8 Zu'l-hijja, on which certain rites are performed during the Mecca pilgrimage. *Vide* Hadji Kha and Sparroy: *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, p. 173. The 8th of Zu'l-hijja is the day of the Repose of the Soul.........It sees the exodus of the pilgrims from Mecca on their way to the Hill of Arafat."

[4] A chronogram is of course a word or sentence containing letters the sum of the numerical value of which gives the date of any event referred to. It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that the letters of the Arabic alphabet each denote a number. The letters in their numerical order exactly correspond with the alphabetical (and also numerical) order of the Hebrew or Phœnician alphabet, and consequently of the Greek. This may be seen from the series of meaningless words arranged to serve as a *memoria technica* of the numerical order:—Abjad, hawwaz, hutti, kalaman, etc. Thus our Roman alphabet too is at once suggested by Kalaman or k, l, m, n. The author of the *Qamus*, however, asserts, that Abjad, etc., were kings of Midian, of whom Kalaman was chief. Others considered that they were the sons of Muramir bin Murrat, the inventor of the Arabic character.

The shrine with a spacious courtyard and mosque is situated at Batwa, which together with the villages of Palri and Shaikri were bestowed on the successors free of rent for their maintenance and the expenses of the shrine.

The Saint left twelve sons and seventeen daughters.

1. The eldest son was Seyyid Nasir-ud-din Abul Hasan Mahmud, surnamed Shah Bada, who was born on the night of the 23rd Ramazan 809 A.H. at Pattan. His mother was Bibi Sultan Khatun, daughter of Khudawand Khan. He was appointed successor to his father, and succeeded to the *Sajjada*, receiving the Sufi's robe from Shah Raju Qattal. He died at Batwa on the 1st of Zu'l Q'ada 884 A.H., and lies buried in the shrine of his father.

He left five sons, *viz.*—Shah Piyarah; Seyyid Zakir Muhammad; Seyyid Sher Muhammad; Seyyid Jalal-ud-din Shah Shaikhjiu; and Shah 'Ataqullah. The fourth son Shaikhjiu, who was born at Asawal in the year 853 A.H., was an accomplished scholar and Sufi. It is said that when the news of his birth reached his grand-father Hazrat-i-Qutb, the Saint turned to his son Muhammad and said, "Well, here comes one greater than us—the glory of our ancestor Makhdum-i-Jahanian." He acquired Sufiistic knowledge from his father, and got the Sufi's robe both from his father and uncle Hazrat-i-Shah Alam, who used to fondle him in his lap, saying "Whatever I have acquired I give to him." So he and his uncle both sat on the *Sajjada* and taught Sufiism to their disciples. He was followed by Qazi Muhammad of Birpur, and Seyyid Teyyib of Isanpur. This Seyyid Teyyib is mentioned in the Tarikh-i-Sikandari as giving his blessing to Sultan Bahadur Khan, son of Sultan Muzaffar, when he acquired the throne of Guzarat and conquered Chitor. He lived for 78 years, and died on the 17th Rabi II in the year 931 A.H., and is buried by the side of Hazrat-i-Qutb's shrine.

2. The second son was Seyyid Shah Alam, an incarnation of righteousness and mysticism. His history will be given later on.

3. The third son was Seyyid Ahmad, surnamed Shah Pir. He was born at Pattan in the year 819 A.H., and acquiring Sufiis-

[1] The Sufi's prayer carpet. For the Sufis *see* article 'Sufi' in Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, and Nicholson's *The Mystics of Islam*.

tic knowledge got the Sufi's robe from his father. He died at the age of sixty-three in the year 880 A.H., and lies buried in the shrine of Hazrat-i-Qutb on the eastern side.

4. Shah Hamid, the fourth son, acquired Sufiistic knowledge and the robe from his father. He died in the year 909 on the 4th Sha'ban, and lies buried in the shrine of Hazrat-i-Qutb on the western side.

5. Seyyid Saleh, the fifth son was a scholar and a mystic and a disciple of his father. The anniversary of his death is celebrated on 29th Zu'l-hijja. He is buried in the shrine of Hazrat-i-Qutb on the west.

6. Bandagi Shah Aminullah, the sixth son, was a full and elder brother of Seyyid Muhammad Zahid (next mentioned), and a disciple of his father. It is said that, on the night of his burial, he appeared in a dream and asked his brother Muhammad Zahid to release his finger which had been caught between two planks of the coffin. His brother could not believe it, but on seeing the apparition thrice opened the grave, and lo! the crushed finger was bleeding. He lies buried in the shrine of Hazrat-i-Qutb by the grave of Seyyid Hamid.

7. Bandagi Seyyid Muhammad Zahid, the seventh son, who will again be mentioned in connection with the Shahia Khalifas.

8. Seyyid Muhammad Asghar, surnamed Shaikh Shah Muhammad, who was taught by his elder brother Seyyid Nasir-ud-din. The anniversary of his death is 26th Ramazan, and he is buried in the Qutbia shrine on the east.

9. Seyyid Muhammad Sadiq. He too acquired knowledge from his elder brother, and died at the age of 26 on the 21st Rajab. He is buried under the Qutbia dome by the side of Shaikh Muhammad.

10. Seyyid Muhammad Raju, who acquired Sufiistic knowledge from his father and brother Shah Alam. Once when playing as a boy he was knocked down by his brothers and beaten on his back. He came weeping to his father, who said coaxingly to him, "My son, thy brethren knew that thou wast likely to have no son. That is why they struck thee on thy back. They struck thee twelve times, and thou wilt now have twelve sons. So grieve not; be happy." The prophecy was

fulfilled. He died on the 17th Safar, and his tomb is at Champaner.

11. Shah Salem. He became a disciple of his father, and was the successor of his eldest brother. He had a great love of music, and was fond of the ecstatic dances of the Sufis. The anniversary of his death is celebrated on the 8th Sha'ban, and he lies buried outside the Qutbia shrine towards the east.

12. Seyyid Ilm-ud-din died in his childhood. These were the 12 sons of Hazrat-i-Qutb.

I shall now give a short account of the Saints' vicegerents.

Seyyid Usman surnamed 'Sham'-i-Burhani.[1]

He was the chosen successor of Hazrat-i-Qutb, and one of the foremost Sufis of his time. He became the disciple of the Qutb when quite young, and passed the best part of his life in the service of the Saint. He reached the higher stages of Sufiism, and was chosen to expound Sufiistic doctrines to the devotees. It is said that Seyyid Usman lived a life of voluntary poverty. When his grandson Seyyid Alam was betrothed to the daughter of Shaikh Daud (grandson of Shaikh Kan-i-Shakar), who besides being a Darvish was a wealthy man, Seyyid Usman's attention was drawn by a servant to the unsuitability of the match between the rich and the poor from the worldly point of view. "Never mind," said the Seyyid, "the blessed name will suffice." And saying this he went inside the shrine of his preceptor Hazrat-i-Qutb, and prayed. Suddenly he heard a mysterious voice saying, "Brother, what is this poverty ? Go and spend as much as is required. I have given thee the same treasure that I had given to my second son Shah Alam." Hearing this the Seyyid returned home, and commanded his servant thus :— "Go every morning to the bank of the river Sabar," saying that there he would find money sufficient to meet the day's expenses, but he should take no more than that. The blessing was continued for many years in the family of the Seyyid—a fact well-known in the city.

It is said that the Seyyid during the lifetime of his preceptor Hazrat-i-Qutb, was attended by admirers of his learning and

[1] 'Burhan's candle,' or 'the Candle of Proof.'

piety who wanted to become his disciples, but the Seyyid refused to accept them because of the great respect he had for his preceptor, who one day addressed him thus:—" Why dost thou reject so many desirous of learning from thee the path of God? If thou art diffident, live alone and teach them." So the Seyyid settled at Baha-ud-dinpur and in a short time the little village was filled with students, nobles, and Sultans, whereby there was inconvenience to the poor villagers. So the Seyyid left his house and his goods and pitched a woollen tent on the other side of the river--the place which is now called Usmanpur. One day he thought to fetch water from the river for his wife, but had no jug. A Hindu boy named Gadādhar happened to pass with a brass jug. The Seyyid borrowing it, filled it with water and took it to his tent. Returning he advised the boy to settle there, but the boy said he could not; he must earn his living. "Go to the river," said the Seyyid, "and fill this jug." And the boy did so. but lo! instead of water it was filled with gold coins. He ran to his father, and giving him the jug full of coins told him what had happened. So the whole family came and settled there, and in course of time a *Pura* called Usmanpur was founded by the side of the Seyyid's tent.

The Seyyid is the author of many Sufistic works, one of which is the *Madarij-ul-Maarij*, which is popular among his descendants. He wrote poetry, too, when in a state of ecstacy. The following lines are from one of his odes [1]:—

The Throne is but the courtyard
Of Darvish ecstacy.
And toil is as a treasure
In Darvish company.
And wealth for man's eternal soul
Comes from the Darvish robe and bowl.

The Flood, a tale that's told so oft,
Was due to Darvish woes.

[1] It is to be feared that this ode is too reminiscent of the well-known ode of Hafiz beginning روضه خلد برین خلوت درویشان است which is in the same (*ramal*) metre, and contains the same refrain at the end of each couplet.

The angel's peacock soars aloft,
As eagle-like it goes;
Yet o'er the Darvish table low
'Tis but a wretched fly, I trow.

Desirest thou protection
From evil's burning sun?
The Darvishes' refection
Hath closed its doors to none,
The workshop's locked, and baulked are we,
A Darvish blessing is the key.

A Darvish blessing from above
Turneth the heart from hate to love.

His anniversary is celebrated on the 15th Jumadi I. His tomb, with a fine mosque attached to it, is situated at Usmanpur, and his descendants are still found in this country.

Shaikh Ali, better known as Khatib Shaikh Ali, the ascetic.

At the age of twelve he devoted himself to the service of God, and abstaining from food obtained by man's labour, lived on fruits and wild herbs. For twelve years he tasted continuously until at last he heard the hallelujahs of the Seraphim. It so happened that every day when he went to the river Sabar for the five prayers he was accosted by a mystic,[1] who was wont to sit by the way and call out to him "Ali, be a Muslim." The Shaikh, understanding not the meaning of this mystic utterance, increased his bodily mortifications and rigid asceticism. One day that mystic had cooked food and was giving it to the people, when the Shaikh happened to pass. The mystic attacked the Shaikh, and throwing him down sat on his chest and struck him, and with each blow thrust a morsel of food into his mouth. Then he left him and said "Go, Ali, be a Muslim." The Shaikh, panting and covered with dust, returned home and fell down in a swoon. But, when he recovered, the meaning of that mystic utterance flashed upon him. And he determined

1 *lit.* "attracted." Sufis are called either Salik or Majzub. The former proceed on the regular path, following the *Shariat* (Muslim Law), while the latter are eccentrics adopting strange manners after the fashion of Hindu ascetics.

to become the disciple of some saint. There were two such saints at that time, Hazrat-i-Qutb and Hazrat-i-Ganj Bakhsh. As the former tolerated music he would not go to him. So, he drove to Sarkhej to wait on Hazrat-i-Ganj Bakhsh. But the oxen stood still on the way, and a mysterious hand pulled the Shaikh by the collar. "Let the beasts have their will," exclaimed the Shaikh, and the cart was drawn towards the convent of Hazrat-i-Qutb! The Saint was sitting at meat with his disciples, when the Shaikh came and was given a portion of food. His eyes were now opened, and he saw the hollowness of his self imposed mortifications. Love was kindled in his heart, and his hard nature was softened, and he wept. Then, filled with ecstacy, he rose up and poured forth his heart as a Darvish does, till even the musical instruments responded. The Saint then ordered his 'Qawwals[1]' to sing, and the whole assembly was entertained. Afterwards the Shaikh was admitted as a disciple of the Saint, and given the privilege of making disciples himself and teaching publicly. He is buried at Qadanpur, which along with Qutbpur belongs to his descendants.

Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, better known as Ganj Bakhsh.

He was a disciple of Baba Ishaq who is buried in the town of Khattu [2] and belongs to the order of the Maghribias. He went on pilgrimage to Mecca *via* Pattan and Cambay, when Rasti Khan was Subadar of the Port. At Pattan the Shaikh met the Subadar's father, Fath-ul-mulk. He returned from Mecca and went to Bukhara *via* Tatta. Shaikh Abdul Qasim, the Pesh

[1] One who recites—singers of Sufistic songs. *See* Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, "The whole of Sufism rests on the belief that when the individual self is lost, the Universal self is found, or in religious language, that ecstacy affords the only means by which the soul can communicate and become united with God." (p. 59). "But the Sufis soon discovered that ecstacy might be induced artificially, not only by concentration of thought, recollection (*dhikr*), and other innocent methods of autohypnosis, but also by music, singing, and dancing. These are included in the term "Sama," which properly means nothing more than audition." (p. 63).

[2] Khattu is a town near Nagor in Jodhpur. Shaikh Baba Ishaq Maghribi was the son of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din a noble of the Court of Firuz Shah Tughlaq of Delhi. For the Sarkhej buildings see *Archæological Survey*, p. 46, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 292.

Imam, has given a detailed account of the Saint's life in his memoirs. In the year 802 A.H., in the time of Muzaffar Khan, who had not yet become Sultan, the Saint came to Gujarat and settled at Sarkhej, three *kos* from the city, and lived on the west side in the house of a Bohra named Bada. When Ahmad founded the city of Ahmedabad the Saint was one of the four Ahmads who took part in the ceremony. Many miracles are attributed to him and are recorded in the memoirs. He died on Thursday 14th Shawwal, 849 A.H., *Ta u mim un ala samana miat* is the chronogram.[1] He lived a life of celibacy and lies buried in Sarkhej, where a shrine, a convent, a mosque, and a tank, were built by Sultan Qutb-ud-din and completed by his son Muhammad Shah. Sultan Mahmud Begada and Sultan Muzaffar Halim are also buried at the foot of the Saint's grave. Every Thursday night people visit the tomb. Some of his vicegerents and adopted sons are also buried at Sarkhej, and the whole village is *waqf* for the expenses of the anniversary festival and repairs, &c.

Shaikh Mahmud Iraji, surnamed Shaikh Pir.

When going on pilgrimage to Mecca, the Shaikh accompanied by his disciples, servants, and Qawwals halted in Ahmedabad in Bhanderipur ward. Next morning when he was going to pay a visit to Hazrat-i-Ganj Baksh he met the Saint's servant who gave him an invitation.

" I am not invited " answered the Shaikh.

" Sir,' replied the servant, " My master has invited Mahmud, and you are that man."

" No," answered the Shaikh, " there are many Mahmuds in this city, and it seems you are mistaken."

" But," promtly replied the servant, " you are Mahmud Iraji ; so my master told me, and you cannot deny it !" Amazed the Shaikh followed the servant, and fell at the Saint's feet.

" Peace be on thee," said the Saint. Thy journey shall be prosperous." And then food was spread before the guest, who began to partake of it with all modesty and reserve.

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[1] This should be counted thus: Ta=9; mim=40 and " samana miat " i.e. 800; the total=849.

3

"Ceremony has no place in Sufiism" remarked the Saint. The whole party was then invited and the Qawwals too.

"You are going to Mecca," said the Saint to the Qawwals, "beware lest you fall short in your enterprise!"

"Fifty[1] *tankchas*" were then presented to the party, and Mahmud was invited to attend to the next farewell meeting. Some days later Mahmud came to bid adieu to the Saint, who told him of forty pilgrimages to Mecca performed by Shaikh Muhammad Maghribi the preceptor of Baba Ishaq, and added that Mahmud should come to him again to bid him farewell.

So Mahmud waited on the Saint a third time and the Saint said, "Thus speaks to me the Invisible Voice: 'Keep with thee Mahmud the faithful.' And as Baba Ishaq adopted me, so I keep you here as my adopted son"

The party then set off, but Mahmud stayed behind, and his wife was called from Iraj and was received as a daughter-in-law of the Saint. Mahmud settled at Bhanderipur, acquired Sufistic knowledge from the Saint, and wrote the *Tuhfât-ul-majalis* in which he recorded the Saint's miracles and a short account of his own life. 10th Rajab is the date of his death and Bhanderipur his burial place.

Shaikh Salah-ud-din.

He was the son of a Hindu named Tukājī. Hazrat-i-Ganj Baksh was once reading the Quran when Tukājī came to him.

"Welcome Baba[2] Talib" said the Saint, "in the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, learn the precepts." Then the Saint tasted from a cup of water and gave it to the convert, and presented the Quaran to him, and Tukājī instantly began to read it. He received the name of Baba Talib, and devoted himself to the service of the Saint. One day Sultan Mahmud Begada visited the Saint, and saw the new convert.

"I am pleased with him," said the Saint.

"He has another brother named Mulaji," answered the Sultan; and Mulaji was called. "Thy brother," said the Saint to Mulaji, "has two wives. One will give birth to a son shortly; go then to the city of Lash and conduct her here." And they were

[1] 100 *tankchas*=one rupee. [2] Seeker (after God).

brought by Mulaji, but after the third day the mother and the father both died leaving the newly born child an orphan. The loving Saint took the baby, who used to sleep in his lap, and was adopted by him, receiving the name of Salah-ud-din.

One day the Saint said to him, "once when a boy, thou didst fall into a burning heap, but I straightway plunged therein and took thee out safe."

"Sir," replied the devotee in a grateful tone, "that fire was nothing; thou hast saved me from the fire of Divine wrath."

"Well said, my son," said the Saint "whosoever loveth thee and thy descendants, him by God's grace will I save from that fire."

When the Saint, on his death-bed, was visited by Sultan Mahmud and Qazi Abdul Hai, the King asked the Saint to nominate one who should keep the lamp burning. Pointing to Salah-ud-din, the Saint answered, "This boy—my son—will do it." The Sultan, after a pause, remarked, "It is a duty of great responsibility, and cannot be undertaken by this feeble youth. Here is a Qazi who is learned, noble, and fit." "Feeble," exclaimed the Saint, "No; the boy is noble and great. Think not that I shall be dead and gone: verily the lovers of God are immortal." And then the Sultan took the hand of Salah-ud-din, and reverently placed it on his head. The anniversary of Salah-ud-din's death is celebrated on the 22nd Rabi I, and he lies buried at the feet of the Saint.

Siraj-ud-din Abul Barakat Seyyid Muhammad, surnamed Hazrat-i-Shah Alam Bukhari.

He was the son of Hazrat Qutb-i-Alam, and his mother was Bibi Amina, surnamed Sultan Khatun, daughter of Karim Khan, son of Imad-ud-din Khudawand Khan, one of the nobles of the Sultans of Gujarat. He was born on Monday night 17th Zu'l-Qa'da 817 A.H, as calculated from the name 'Waris-i-Ali'[1] according to the '*Abjad*' system. At the age of seventeen he was appointed head of the Sufiistic Order 'Maghribia' and received the Sufi robe from Shaikh Ahmad

[1] 'The heir of Ali.'

Khattu, who is called 'Ganj Bakhsh'[1] for this reason. His miracles are many and well-known among the people. He died at the age of 63 on Saturday night, the 20th Jumadi II in the year 880 A.H. His descendants are called Shahia Seyyids as distinguished from the descendants of his brothers who are called Qutbia Seyyids. His tomb is situated at Rasulabad[2] where he used to live. A fine spacious convent, with stately domes and watch-towers, was built by Taj Khan Nariali, one of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud Begada and a disciple of the Saint. The fine mosque attached to it was built by Muhammad Saleh Badakhshi, and its two minarets were added to it by Najabat Khan. The caravan-sarai and other buildings of the convent were first built by Sultan Mahmud and then repaired by Saif Khan, and are still preserved. The following villages were bestowed on the descendants of the Saint for their maintenance and for the expenses of the shrine:—

Basna, Isanpur, and Sarsa; Daroda Daushali, and Bakrol in Pargana Haveli.

Ambareli and Jalalpur etc., six villages in Dholka.

Matar Basna and Munda Basna are devoted exclusively to the maintenance of the Shahia Seyyids.

The Saint had five sons and four daughters :—

1. Seyyid Raju,
2. Seyyid Buddhan,
3. Seyyid Shaikh Muhammad,
4. Bibi Raji,
5. Bibi Amatullah.

Their mother was Buwa Khunda daughter of Malik Ishaq Khokhar, chief of Nandod. She is buried by the side of her father.

6. Seyyid Beg Muhammad,
7. Bibi Aman,
8. Bibi Manjhli.

Their mother was Bibi Murki, daughter of Jam Juva the Ruler of Sind.

9. Seyyid Sultan Muhammad, whose mother was a slave girl named Sunkli.

[1] "Treasure bestower." [2] *Vide Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 286.

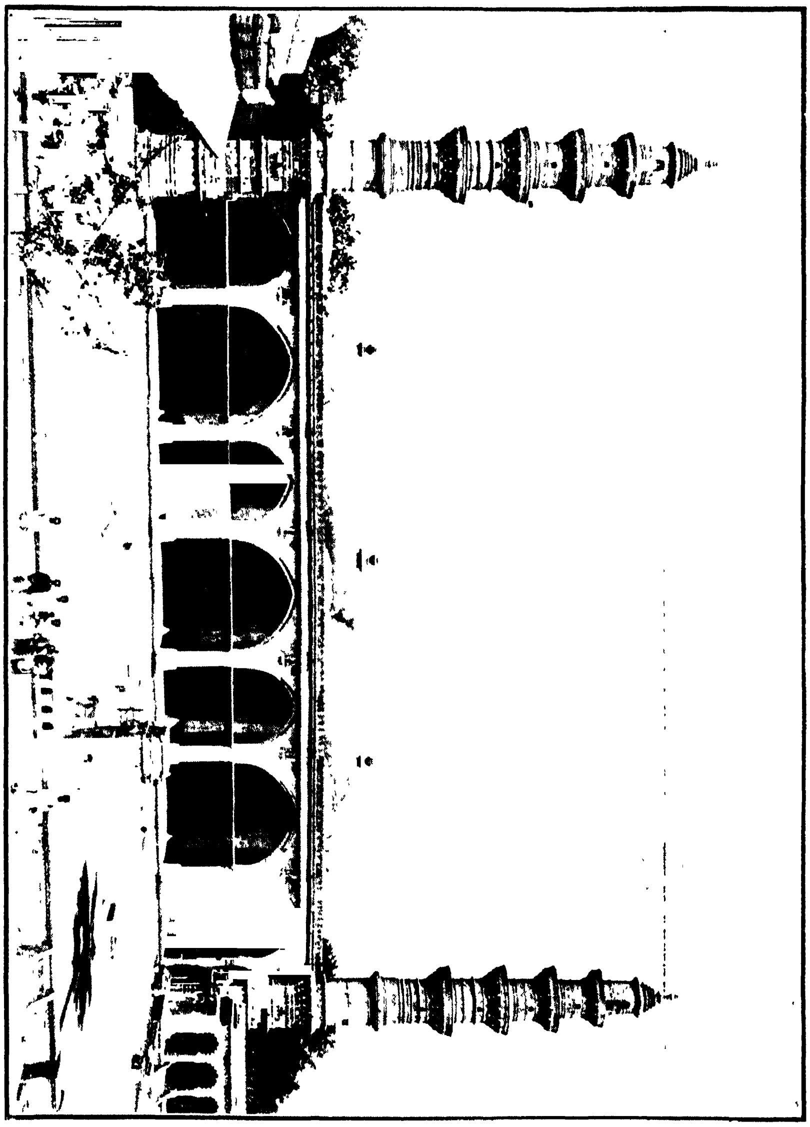


Plate II.—Shah Alam's Mosque, Ahmedabad.

Shah Muhammad Raju.

He was born in 835 A.H. as is calculated from the words 'Waris-i-Husain.'[1] As he received the Sufi's robe from his father direct he was called 'brother' by his father. From his early days he was devoted to Sufiism, and used to offer daily a thousand *rak'ats* of prayers, half of them in a sitting position owing to his weakness. His anniversary is celebrated on the even of 1st Muharram. He is buried outside the Shahia shrine with three of his brothers.

Shah Bhikan.

His name was Seyyid Beg Muhammad, and he died at the age of nine or ten. A curious story of his death is recorded by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* on the authority of Malik Fakhr-ud-din (Sultan Ahmad's son-in-law), who heard it from his father Malik Saif-ud-din. Says the Malik, "I was born as an outcome of Saint Qutb-i-Alam's blessings. Once, in my childhood, I swooned, and men took me to be dead. Mad with sorrow my father ran to the Saint, his preceptor, who then lived at Asawal, taking with him the cap and the Sufi's genealogical tree, determined to give them back and abjure his fealty if the Saint failed to revive his child. The Saint referred him to his son Shah Alam, who consoled my father, bidding him accept the Divine decree. "Wilt thou reply in the same way in the matter of intercession in the next world?" answered my father, provoking him. The Saint ignored this reply and went home. Then my father went to young Shah Bhikan, and persuaded him to speak to his father the Saint Shah Alam. "Art thou prepared," said the Saint to his son, "to offer thyself for a sacrifice?" "Yes, my father," replied the boy, even as Abraham's son; and he went into a room, where the Saint prayed thus in Hindi : Rájan bakruti badal bakru (Lord ! here s a goat in exchange). And lo ! Bhikan died on the spot. The Saint came out and spoke to my father thus :—"Go home, and see thy son, who is perchance in a swoon and not dead." Afterwards my father learnt of the sudden death of his Saint's son, and was grieved thereat. Shah Bhikan is buried with his mother Bibi Murki in the tomb of Jam Juva on the west of the city by the riverside. 14th Rajab is the date of his anniversary.

[1] 'The heir of Husain.'

Seyyid Jalal-ud-din Mah Alam.

He was the son of Seyyid Hasan, a descendant of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam. His mother's name was Khunda Gohar, daughter of Malik Khizr. He was born on the 6th Zu'l-Qa'da, 950 A.H.

When Akbar conquered Gujarat the Seyyid, through the recommendation of Khan-i-Azam, was appointed head of the Shahias and custodian of the shrine of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam. He was the disciple and successor of Seyyid Sher Muhammad, and took instruction from Mian Wajih-ud-din Alawi.[1] It is said that the Seyyid was once invited to dinner by Seyyid Abu Turab-Shirazi. He went out wearing a warm cloak, as the weather was cold and the wind sharp. On his way he met a poor man who begged for his cloak; the Seyyid at once gave it to him. When dinner was served the host signed to the attendant of the Seyyid to provide his master with a rug. The attendant went out, and was thinking where to get a rug, as his master had none. Suddenly he saw a disciple coming to him with a rug as a present for his master! The generosity of the Seyyid was so great that even necessary utensils and clothes were given to the needy. He died at midnight on the 14th Zu'l-Qa'da, 1003 A.H. and is buried at the foot of the Shahia Shrine.

The chronogram for his death is *nur az jahan raft.*[2]

Seyyid Muhammad Maqbul Alam.

He was the son of Seyyid Jalal Mah Alam. His mother's name was Amina, daughter of Seyyid Nasrullah. He has himself given the chronogram for his birth as *man u dast u daman-i-ál-i-rasul.*[3]

He received the Sufi's robe from his father two years before his death. He was an accomplished scholar and Sufi, and is the author of *Jamá'at-i-Shahi*, dealing with daily commemorations and prayers. Every Friday he used to distribute as alms five hundred *mahmudis*, giving two to each man. Once he had only twelve coins with him, which were distributed by his servant Abd-ush-shakur to six persons; but the crowd did not

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1 A descendant of Ali, but not through Fatima.

2 'The Light went from the world.'

3 'I hold the skirt of the Prophet's family.'

disperse. The Seyyid sat down to think, when suddenly his son brought a note from Khwaja Abul Hasan Jumlat-ul-mulk with a purse of two thousand silver coins, which were then freely distributed among the people. He died on the 12th Rajab 1045 A.H., and is buried in a shrine built by Saif Khan. The Prophet's two footprints are fixed on the Seyyid's grave.

Seyyid Jalal Maqsud Alam.

Son of Seyyid Maqbul Alam was born on Saturday night 15th Jumadi II 1003 A.H., as is calculated from the words 'Waris-i-Rasul'.[1] At the age of eleven he committed the Quran to memory, and was educated by Maulana Hassan of Seistan and Shaikh Abdul Aziz the disciple of his father. He acquired Śufiistic knowledge from his father, whom he always tried to serve and please. His father also loved him tenderly, and composed the following quatrain for his son:—

The means for gaining wealth, my dearest heart,
Are knowledge, perseverance, skill, and art.
Love means the union of the Lovers' souls,
My son Jalal and I will never part.

The son in praise of his father says:—

To highest Heaven my prayers for him ascend;
In him my being hath its source and end.
My lord, my comrade, and my confidant,
My father, teacher, intercessor, friend.

Another quatrain, in which he gives 'Riza' as his *nom de plume*:—

Riza, in secret drain the cup of wine,
Tell not the secret for which Lovers pine.
The Prophet's robe if thou dost yearn to wear,
To Ali's precepts let thy soul incline.

In the reign of Shah Jahan he accepted the command of six thousand horse and a governorship, so that he might be in a position to do good to the people. With all this wealth and honour, however, he lived the life of a Sufi, devoted to God and awake at night, offering prayers to Him. He died at Lahore

[1] 'The Heir of the Prophet.'

on the 20th Rabi II 1059 A.H. His bones were brought to Ahmedabad, and on the 27th Rajab were buried at Rasulabad under the second dome over the tomb of his father.

Seyyid Ja'far Badr Alam.

Son of Seyyid Jalal Maqsud-i-Alam, was born on the 12th Sha'ban 1023 A.H., as is calculated from "Waris-i-Shahi".[1] He was educated by his father, and received the Sufi robe from him. He was an accomplished scholar and a specialist in the traditions and commentaries of the Quran. He is the author of many works, one of which is entitled the *Rauzat-i-Shahi*[2] in twenty-four volumes, the first being the memoirs of the Saint, and the last four dealing with traditions and the commentaries of the Quran. He used to copy out the manuscripts himself, and was a quick copyist; so much so that in fifty-four hours he would complete the whole of the Quran. One night after performing the Tahajjud he was coming out of the Shahia Shrine, a Darvish asked for a copy of the Quran, but was told to wait till morning, when a copy would be presented from the library. "But," answered the Darvish, "you have one with you now." And saying this he snatched it from him and disappeared.

After the death of his father he was offered a governorship by the Emperor Shah Jahan, but he refused and nominated his brother Seyyid Ali Rizvi Khan. He died on the 9th Zu'lhijja 1085 A.H., and is buried by the side of his father.

Seyyid Muhammad Mahbub Alam.

Son of Seyyid Ja'far Badr-i-Alam, was born on the 2nd Rabi I 1047 A.H. He was taught by his father, and was a scholar and a Sufi. He is the author of many religious works, and wrote commentaries on the Quran—one in Persian quoting the authority of the *Ahl-i-bait*,[3] and the other in Arabic on the lines of Jalalain.[4]

[1] 'The Heir of the Shahis.'

[2] This work is frequently mentioned by our author in the succeeding pages.

[3] Ameer Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, p. 462 writes:—"The Ahl-i-bait—People of the Home (of Mohammed) is the designation usually given to Fatima and Ali and their children. This is the name by which Ibn-i-Khaldun invariably designates them and their followers and disciples, the Shiahs or *adherents* of the People of the House.

[4] The name of a Commentary on the *Quran* by Suyuti (d. 1505 A.D.).

On the traditions he wrote a commentary, called the *Zinat-u-nuqat*, on the work known as the *Mishkat*,[1] dealing with the creed, etc.

When the Emperor signed the *farman* of trusteeship the Seyyid, who was then but nine years old, was overjoyed. "Art thou pleased to see the *farman* all in gold letters and linings?" said the Emperor to the young Seyyid. "Your Majesty" answered the Seyyid, "Thank God, our pockets are full of gold, but my joy is due to seeing your Majesty's own signature."

The Seyyid was a lecturer as well as an ascetic, and in the month of Ramazan, besides the usual commemorations, he was wont to recite the whole of the Quran daily. Maulana Shaik Nur-ud-din, one of his disciples, narrates the following story:

In the month of Jumadi II I paid a visit to my preceptor Mahbub-i-Alam, who said to me "My time to go will be on the days of the annual gathering of the Shahias." He was then confined to bed, and his condition grew worse. On the 19th of the month he passed the whole day in prayer and inquiries about the holding of the annual gathering. In the afternoon, on being informed that the Shaikhs and Ulamas had assembled, he ordered me to instal his son Seyyid Ja'far Majid Alam as his successor, and then passed away, praising God. This happened on Wednesday the 19th Jumadi II 1112 A.H., as is calculated from *Muhammad bud Sani Shah Alam*.[2]

Muhammad bud sani Shah Alam.[3]

He is buried in the Maqbulia shrine by the side of his grandfather on the eastern side. This shrine contains the graves of four of the foremost Sufis of their time.

Seyyid Jalal-ud-din Hamid Alam.

Son of Seyyid Muhammad Mahbub Alam, was born on the

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[1] The *Mishkát-us-Masábih* (Niche for Lamps) is a work well-known in India. It was originally written by Imam Husain-al-Baghavi, who died about 510 A.H., and called the *Masábih-us-Sunna* (Lamps of the Traditions). This original work was revised and called the *Miskhat* by Shaikh Wali-ud-din in 737 A.H. It was further translated into Persian by Shaikh Abd-ul-Haqq in the time of the Emperor Akbar (Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*).

[2] Muhammad was the second Shah Alam.

[3] 'Shah Alam was a second Muhammad.'

2nd of Jumadi I 1062 A.H. He was the pupil and disciple of his father and the author of two treatises—one, the *Mirat-ur-roya*, dealing with the interpretation of dreams, and the other, the *Miftah-ul-hajat*, regarding the active life. Owing to weakness and chronic indigestion he had to give up his usual food and kept himself just alive on fruit. He died on the 20th of Zu'l-hijja 1114 A.H., and is buried outside the shrine opposite to his father's grave.

Seyyid Ja'far Majid Alam.

Son of Seyyid Muhammad Mahbub Alam, was born on the 18th Rabi II 1081 A.H. He was often subject to trances, and at such times whatever he predicted proved true. He died on the 18th Muharram 1119 A.H., and is buried at the foot of his father's grave.

Seyyid Muhammad Mahmud Alam.

Son of Ja'far Majid Alam. He was godless in his youth, but later he repented and died as a good man; he left no issue. At present the custodian of the shrine is Seyyid Abd-ush-Shakur, son of Seyyid Musa, the nephew of Seyyid Mahmud Alam.

I shall now give a short account of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam's vicegerents and disciples who are buried here.

Diwan Seyyid Muhammad Zahid.

Brother of the Saint Shah Alam, and his steward. He was born on the 9th of Rajab, 848 A.H. Having to lead the prayers he had a special regard for cleanliness. The Saint on his death-bed called him, saying, "Brother, come. My 'Rājan Ju'[1] salutes thee, and I am going to give thee the keys of mysterious treasures tied at my feet." It is said that the people heard the clink. The Seyyid approached the Saint, and saluting him replied with a tremor in his voice, "My saintly brother, I have not served thee for such gains." "Well said," answered the Saint in a joyful tone, "thou art really true to thy name *Zahid*." And saying this the Saint drew him to him, and embraced and kissed him. So he got what he desired (the love of the Saint). It is said that after the Saint's death four persons

[1] Rājan Ju—a Hindi expression Rājan=Rājā 'ju' or 'jī' an affectionate termination. The meaning is God.

received special blessings. They are (1) Seyyid Muhammad Raju, the custodian of the shrine and the successor. (2) Diwan Seyyid Muhammad Zahid. (3) Miyan Makhdum, the Saint's vicegerent. (4) Sharif Abu Bakr Edrus, chief of Hazramaut (in Arabia) who is buried in Jaohariwara in the city. Diwan Seyyid Zahid died on the 6th of Sha'ban, 892 A.H., as is calculated from the chronogram "*Qurrat-i-ain-i-nabi.*" [1] The word '*jilwa*' (splendour) gives his age as forty-four. He is buried at Batwa, where his son Seyyid Arab Shah is also buried.

Maulana Shaikh Ahmad, known as Miyan Makhdum.

He was the son of Burhan, great grandson of Muhammad Khan Ghori, who was appointed governor of Nagor by the kings of Delhi. This Muhammad Khan Ghori was a descendant of the well-known Sultan Muhammad Ghori who established the rule of Islam in India. Miyan Makhdum was born through the blessing given by Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, and was taught by Maulana Sadr-i-Jahan. At the age of twelve he became a disciple of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam, and served him for twelve years. Another twelve years were spent as a *vazir* and a Sufi. He remained at Rasulabad serving the Saint, and died ten years after the Saint's death at the age of sixty-four on the 22nd Rabi II 890 A.H., as is calculated from the chronogram "*Akhir-ul-aulia.*" [2] He was buried at Tajpur in Ahmedabad. A convent and a mosque are attached to his tomb.

Sultan Shah Ghazni.

He was related to one of the Sultans of Gujarat, and being proud of his position and prestige lived, when young, as a free-booter. The people quietly submitted to his extortions, being afraid of his connection with royalty. One day Miyan Makhdum, who acted as the household manager of Shah Alam, went to the city with 84 gold *mohurs* (each weighing 17 tolas) which were received every day from the persons and the places pointed out by the Saint, and which were spent on the daily expenses. Sultan Shah appeared on the spot and forcibly took the money

[1] Light of the Prophet's eye.

[2] 'The Last of the Saints.'

from Makhdum, who returned home and told the Saint. "The seed of regard is sown in his heart," said the Saint smilingly. Some time after the Saint, followed by Makhdum, was driving in a carriage, and the people in the way were respectfully saluting and kissing his feet. Those who were riding on horseback alighted, paying homage, but Sultan Shah, who happened to pass there, being puffed up with pride arrogantly turned from the Saint and rode on haughtily. "Seest thou this fellow?" said Makhdum. "If it pleases the Lord God," calmly answered the Saint, "such fellows will serve as sweepers for poor humble men like thee." Suddenly Sultan Shah was thrown off his horse; and with him fell his pride and his haughtiness! He repented, and next day waited on the Saint and became his disciple. The Saint, in order to purify the heart of his royal disciple, ordered him to clean the kitchen pots and to receive instructions in Sufiism from Miyan Makhdum. In the course of time he acquired Sufiistic knowledge, and was acknowledged as a great Sufi. Miracles are also attributed to him. He died at the age of sixty-three on Monday, the 20th Safar, 922 A.H., and is buried within the rampart of the city near the Raikhar gate.

Shah Fazlullah of Kashan, whose tomb is on the other side of river Sabar near the shrine of Shah Bhikan, was one of the vicegerents of Sultan Shah Ghazni.

Miyan Qutb-ud-din.

He was the son of Mahmud, a descendant of Sultan Ibrahim [1] Adham of Balkh, and a disciple of Shaikh Bapu Chishti who is buried in Cambay. Shah Alam appointed him as his vicegerent, and gave his own turban and entrusted him to the care of Miyan Makhdum. The following incident is narrated by him :—

[1] Ibrahim bin Adham was King of Balkh in Central Asia. How he heard mysterious voices calling on him to repent till he could resist the call no more, but left his capital on pretence of going hunting; how he fled through deserts and over mountains till he reached Naishapur; how he stayed there for years in a cave, and then again wandered away and made for Mecca; how he lived as a Sufi recluse, and in the end disappeared, so that none knows where he is buried (about 777 A.D.), this and many anecdotes and sayings may be found in Farid-ud-din Attar's *Tazkirat-ul-Aulin.* Ibrahim was one of the earliest of the Sufi Saints.

"One day I paid a visit to the Saint, who in the course of his conversation made this seemingly irrlevant remark, 'Qutb-ud-din, remember that the peons sent by the Qazi are sent by the Prophet's order and must be respected.' I could not understand this, but when I returned home I found the Qazi's peons posted at my door, to recover the money which I had once borrowed from certain persons while I was serving in the army. The peons rebuked me sharply, but I received them with due respect, for I understood why the Saint had spoken."

A marked trait in all the Saint's discipline is first to obey the law of Islam and then to do other things.

Miyan Qutb-ud-din died at the age of 87 on the 20th Jumadi II, 943 A.H., and is buried at Khanpur in the City.

Qazi Shah Hamad.

Son of Qazi Muhammad a disciple of Hazrat-i-Qutb Alam. He had two brothers, one Hamid known as Qazi [1] Ja-i-bulanda and the other Hamid. All these three brothers were disciples and successors of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam. Qazi Hamad passed his first twelve years in the acquisition of knowledge, and then for twelve years more served as a soldier fighting for the faith. While leading a soldier's life he always spoke the truth, and ate only what he earned by lawful means. If anybody served him with food unlawfully got he refused to taste it, or vomited it forth. Even his horse, so they say, had this same characteristic taken from his master! For another twelve years he was wholly devoted to meditation and prayer, and slept but a short time at nights. He was awe-inspiring to such a degree that people did not dare to look straight at him, and whoever did it lost his senses. He was wont to sit behind a curtain, and his secretary used to read out petitions on which the Qazi passed categorical orders 'We accept'—'We refuse.' And therefore the Ulama charging him with blasphemy, wrote a *fatwa* and persuaded the Sultan to take his life. "If his brother, Qazi Ja-i-bulanda, signs the *fatwa*, even as Mansur's death warrant was signed by Junaid,[2] I shall pass an order for

[1] Bayley: page 383.

[2] Husain bin Mansur al Hallaj was brought up at Shushtar, travelled widely in India, Khurasan, Transoxiana, and Turkestan, and finally settled at Baghdad

his execution," remarked the Sultan. So the Ulama went to Qazi Ja-i-bulanda, who begged the Ulama to wait; for he hoped that his brother would listen to his advice and repent. So he went to him and advised him to change his ways. "Do I speak myself or does God speak through me?" replied Hamad. And saying this he pronounced a curse—"Miyanji, the mischief-monger, him we remove from this world." Now Miyanji was a teacher of these brothers, so Qazi Ja-i-bulanda pleaded for him; but the angry Hamad refused to listen, saying "Kill the monster before it bites." While they were thus talking, news came of the sudden illness of Miyanji. "Have pity on him" said the Qazi. "Let him come to me: if he abstains from signing the *fatwa* he shall be saved," replied Hamad. The Qazi went to Miyanji, and informed him of what had happened, but Miyanji calmly replied:—"For sixty-two years I have faithfully and firmly followed the Law; and in my last moments I will not prove false to it. I know I should be cured if I went to Hamad, but for the honour of the Law I gladly offer my life."

On the third day after the death of Miyanji, the two brothers as well as other pupils of the said teacher,[1] went to his grave to offer wreaths. Hamad was thrown down twice as he offered his flowers, and the party smiled and looked meaningly at him. Collecting himself Hamad remarked "He was my teacher, and had a claim over me; were it not so, I would have deprived him of the pleasures of the next world too." The grave appeared for a moment as if to tremble, and then the flowers offered by Hamad a third time rested on it. Hamad died at the age of thirty-six on the 22nd Shavval.

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where he became a follower of Junaid, a famous Sufi Saint. A long account of Hallaj is given by Farid-ud-din Attar in his *Tazkirat-ul-aulia*, and he was one of the most renowned of the earlier Sufis. In the end the orthodox party rose against him, and charging him with blasphemy in that he claimed to be one with the Deity, saying 'Ana'l—Haqq' 'I am the Truth,' obtained the assistance of the Wazir Abu'l Hassan Ali bin Isa. Thereupon the Khalif, al Muqtadir bi'llah, ordered his imprisonment, and he was finally terribly tortured and put to death at Baghdad, 922 A.D. See Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, page 428 and elsewhere. Junaid died some eleven years earlier, and the legend that he signed the death warrant can hardly be accepted. Attar has a long account of him also.

[1] A similar story is told of Shah Alam and Shaikh Kamal's grave *Vide* Bayley, p. 141.

Malik Abdul Latif Davar-ul-mulk, known as Shah Daval.

Son of Mahmud, a descendant of the Quraish and one of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud Begada, and he rests in the town of Amran.[1] He was a disciple of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam, and was given the work of providing hot water for the Saint's ablutions. It is said that a son of one of the Rājās of the Deccan, who was suffering from the incurable disease of leprosy, was sent to the Saint. At midnight when the Saint rose for prayer, Malik was instructed to pour water over the Rājā's son from the basin. Malik did so, and himself drank a portion of the water. The boy was soon cured, and Malik was blessed by the Saint, receiving the rank of Salar Masud Ghazi. The people, especially in the Deccan, honoured Malik and Sultan Mahmud Begada bestowed on him the title of *Davar-ul-mulk*.

Malik now lived like a noble, but in his behaviour was meek and God-fearing. For the convenience of his neighbours he sold his house, and he treated the tenants of his *Jahgir* according to Muslim Law. The Sultan after a short time appointed him *Faujdar* of Amran, where he had to war against the unbelievers. One day, while returning from Bhuj through the Runn of Cutch, he rested under a shady tree and closed his eyes. His followers allowed their horses to graze; Malik awoke and upbraided them for trespassing. "For three days and nights neither we nor our beasts have tasted anything. We men can bear hunger with patience, but animals cannot be expected to refrain from grazing" replied his followers. "If," answered Malik, "you are ready to suffer for God's sake, your animals also will be filled with the same spirit." And, saying this, Malik removed the bridle of his horse, but it would not touch the grass!

Under his regime the unruly Rajputs quietly settled down, but he was, shortly after, treacherously assassinated in the following manner: A Rajput, of depraved heart, came to Malik, and said to him, "Sir, a relation of mine has a very fine sword. If he waits on you take it from him. See the fine temper of it, and you will rejoice." The traitor then went to his relation and spoke thus: "Malik intends to kill thee treacherously, and this is the

[1] Amran in the Nawanagar State.

sign of it; if thou goest to him, and he, taking thy sword, uncovers and examines it, surely it will be thy death signal." "I will instruct my followers", said the man to the traitor, "to kill Malik before the sword is uncovered." And so Malik was assassinated on the 13th Zu'l-Qa'da 879 A.H., and is buried in that town. The shrine is visited by thousands of people who flock there from every quarter, chiefly from the Deccan and Malwa. The blind, the lame, the paralytic, and the needy, gather together, and many with iron rings on their legs or locks on their lips present themselves. And it is said that the ring opens of itself, and this is a sign that their prayer for recovery is heard. Others, who visit the tomb to get money for their needs, are told in a dream that they will get it from such and such a person and place. Prior to the present misrule and anarchy a big fair was held annually on the 2nd Zu'l-Qa'da, and the present author remembers how commodities worth not less than one *lakh* from Ahmedabad, and horses, oxen, and camels from Kathiawar, were brought and sold, at that fair. Such fairs are called *Medani* by the Gujaratis, and it was the custom that the people who came from Ahmedabad should halt at Sarkhej to visit Saint Ahmad Khattu's shrine and only those going to the fair should go further. And on the 12th of that same month a large number went to pray at the tomb of Malik's wife Bibi Fateh Shah.

Shaik-ul-Islam Khwaja Ahmad, son of Dosan.

He was one of the chief successors of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam and he received the title of *Miskin Allah* from the saint (*vide* Vol. 19 of the *Rauzat-i-Shahia*).

One day the Saint, pleased with him, remarked, "When Ahmad requires anything he does not ask for it; because he considers created beings powerless to give it. This is the way of a brave and strong-minded man." And then the Saint quoted certain Arabic verses and continued, saying, "It is no easy thing to receive the cuts from the sword of Sufiism. With firm determination can a man stand in dependence on the One."

Quatrain.

The Lover gazing in his mistress' eyes
Reserves himself for her until he dies.

A lion's heart is needed for this deed,
No fox is fit for Love's high enterprise.

He is buried in Ahmedabad near the Shahpur Gate. His anniversary is performed on the 13th Shavval.

Qazi Seyyid Ismail Isfahani, son of Seyyid Burhan.

He was a pious and dignified person. Government appointed him Qazi of Broach. When Hazrat-i-Shah Alam, on his way to Nandurbar and Sultanpur, halted at Broach, the Qazi waited on the Saint and became his disciple. One day the following verse from the Quran was recited before the Saint :—

"*And their Lord shall make them drink a pure drink.*"

The Qazi, as if he longed to taste this drink, remarked "Is that 'drink' material and really drinkable, or does it mean Love and Divine knowledge which can be acquired? Or is it simply capability?" "Yes," answered the Saint smilingly, "it has real existence, and can be tasted." "If," said the Qazi, "it can be tasted in this world, thou art my preceptor—one who has received it—and I hope thou wilt be pleased to bestow on me a portion of it." "I shall see," replied the Saint, "wait on me regularly at the time of midnight prayer, perchance thou mayest be given this drink." And the Qazi waited upon him and was blessed with it one night. And he said, "The first intoxicating effect of it is this, that God hath revealed to me the real nature of Heaven and Hell." After becoming the disciple of the Saint, the Qazi, who had given up the use of the turban, was one day advised by the Saint to put it on again. The people expected some change in the fortune of the Qazi, and it came about a week later. Sultan Mahmud sent word to the Saint to persuade the Qazi to accept the Qaziship of the capital, where a good Qazi was needed. At first the Qazi was not willing to accept this offer, for he feared to lose the inward peace and happiness that comes from a Sufi's life of retirement. Blessed and assured by the Saint that he would end his life as a good man and would rise on the day of resurrection with the true Darvishes, he accepted the Qaziship. He is buried in Ahmedabad at Badupur. The ceremony of his anniversary is per-

formed on the 28th Rabi I. He had the honour of leading the burial prayers over the body of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam.

Maulana Shaikh Mahmud Suhrawardi.

He was born in Multan, as is described in the *Dah hikayat* and *Sharaif-i-Mahmudia*. He lived for some time in Tatta and Lahore, where he heard of the wonders of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam. One day he said to Jam Juva, who with his father was his disciple, "You have not yet forsaken the heathen customs of your family. Leave for Gujarat and get your daughters married there, even as your uncle gave his daughter to Hazrat-i-Qutb-i-Alam." So the Jam leaving his two sons Jam Khair-ud-din and Jam Salah-ud-din under the care of the Shaikh's son Abdullah, took his two daughters Bibi Mughli and Bibi Murki and left for Ahmedabad. It was supposed that Bibi Mughli, who was more handsome than her sister, would be given to Hazrat-i-Shah Alam himself, but on reaching the city, the Jam being so advised by his ministers, gave her in marriage to Prince Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Ahmad, so that he (the Jam) might be allowed to retain his ancestral kingdom and receive other royal favours. The other daughter, Bibi Murki, was then married to Hazrat-i-Shah Alam, but she died soon after having given birth to a son named Shah Bhikan and two daughters.

Bibi Mughli gave birth to a son (afterwards Sultan Mahmud Begada), but her husband Sultan Muhammad, died soon, and she was remarried to Hazrat-i-Shah Alam, under whose care the orphan Prince Mahmud was brought up. This Prince afterwards sat on the throne of Gujarat (vide *Mirat-i-Sikandari*).

The Jam built a fort which is called Lakarkot, where he and his daughter Bibi Murki are buried. As the Bukhari Seyyids had then no special cemetery of their own, Shah Bhikan, the Saint's son by Bibi Murki, was buried by the side of his mother.

It was in those days that the Shaikh came from Lahore and became one of the disciples of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam and settled at Asawal near Qutbpur. He was buried in the above-mentioned fort of the Jam on 14th of Zu'l-Qa'da. His descendants are still remembered in Lahore and Gujarat. He was the preceptor of the

famous Maulana Shaikh Nur-ud-din, who spread knowledge in this land of Gujarat, and his children after him.

Maulana Shaikh Nur-ud-din.

Son of Shaikh Muhammad Shah, was born on the 10th Jumadi I 1063 A.H. He was a genius, and the signs of greatness were visible in his childhood, as is the saying "He who is fortunate is fortunate even in his mother's womb." It is said that, in his boyhood, he read the whole of the *Gulistan* (with text notes thereon) to his mother in seven days. He acquired knowledge from Maulana Ahmad bin Sulaiman, and Sufiistic knowledge from Seyyid Muhammad Mahbub Alam, from whom he received the succession of the Suhrawardiya Order of the Sufis, and permission to make disciples in all other orders.

His fame as a talented Arabic scholar spread far and wide, and students flocked to his seminar where they were provided with free board and lodging. Muhammad Akram-ud-din, known as Shaikh-ul Islam Khan, the *Sadr* of the *Ṣuba* of Ahmedabad, built this seminar for the Shaikh at a total cost of Rs. 1,24,000. The foundation stone of the school was laid in 1102 A.H., and the mosque was completed by the acquisition of adjacent lands and houses in 1110 A.H., as is calculated from the chronogram: [1]*Hu almasjid ussisa ala'ttaqwa min avvali yaumin.* Other additions were made to the building in 1111 A.H., the chronogram for which is: [2]*Madrasatun fiha alhuda lilalamain.* Lasundra in Pargana Savli under the Sarkar of Champaner has been given as a gift for defraying the annual expenses of the 'Milad-i-Sharif' (the Prophet's birth), and Metha in Pargana Kadi and Ranasan in Pattan with an additional stipend of Rs. 2 daily have been bestowed for *langar* (free distribution of food) and the maintenance of students. No doubt the Maulana was a good example of what the Fathers of early Islam were like. He was an accomplished Divine, pious and generous, a versatile author and commentator. His works exceed one hundred and seventy in number. His commentary on the *Sura-i-Fatiha* contains about ten or twelve

1 "This is the mosque founded on piety from the first of days" (*Quran* Ch. IX).

2 "A school in which is guidance for the two worlds."

thousand verses, and on the *Para Alif Lam Mim*[1] about sixty thousand verses. Other works also testify to his erudition and scholarship.

In the year 1143 after a pilgrimage to Mecca he returned home, and spent his time in prayers and meditation. Every day after the daily lessons were over he used to read the whole of the *Quran* and every night he used to offer the evening prayers twice, and on his bed he repeated the confession of faith and a blessing on the Prophet a thousand times. He regularly fasted for forty days, and retired in the mosque, and never accepted any royal stipend nor ever touched silver and gold coins with his own hand. He lived to the advanced age of ninety-one, and died on Tuesday noon the 9th of Sha'ban 1155 A.H. Of the many chronograms composed on his death, the following: *Waris-i-ahl-i-bait*[2] is the most appropriate. He is buried in his own convent near the seminar. The sage left five sons and three daughters.

(1) *Shaikh Muhammad Saleh, surnamed Pīr Bābā.*

He was a learned, pious, forbearing, and generous man; the pupil, disciple, and successor, of his father. At the age of seven he committed to memory the whole of the *Quran* with the correct intonation. He was once called before Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, then the viceroy of Gujarat, and was asked to recite the *sura* entitled *Ar-Rahman.* So faultless were the intonation and rhythmic effect of his recitation that the Prince marvelled at him and bestowed on him a robe of honour, money, and the village of Tajpur in Pargana Viramgam. He was invited twice to Delhi—first in the reign of Farrukhsiyar and then in the time of Muhammad Shah. Each time Rs. 2,000 were given to him as his travelling allowance with a robe of honour, and an elephant. Many nobles and scholars considered him superior to all his contemporaries; and in fact he was a true son of his father, the sage. He

[1] *Para*—the *Quran* is divided into thirty *Paras* or parts. Six chapters begin with the letters A.L.M. the meaning of which is variously given. See Sale's *Quran* (Preliminary discourse), Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam.* Among the chapters beginning with A.L.M., is the second which is of great length and contains 2½ *Paras.* The first half is what is meant by the *Para* A.L.M. here.

[2] The Heir of the People of the House.

died in Delhi on the 16th Jumadi II, 1147 A.M. His coffin was brought to Ahmedabad, and his remains lie buried in the tomb of his grandfather by the side of the mosque.

It is curious that his father Maulana Nur-ud-din saw him in a dream, and he was saying, "They have given me the title of *Murad Bakhsh*[1] which is the chronogram for my death and the offering to my soul will be *Thuli*[2] Whoso desireth to gain his object should eat this, and do a *Fatiha* for me." When the Maulana awoke from his dream he counted the numbers of the letters of Murad Bakhsh which gave the exact date of his son's death (1147 A.H.).

Daily he received from the Royal Treasury Rs. 2 as salary, and Rs. 223 for Mutawalliship and for the performance of annual ceremonies on the 12th Rabi I (the anniversary of the Prophet's death) and the 11th Rabi II (the anniversary of Saint Abdul Qadir Jilani's death). Moreover Mahij in Pargana Haveli, Ahmedabad, was bestowed on him as *Altamgha*."[3] He left five sons: Baha-ul-Haqq, Sadr-ul-Haqq, Rukn-ul-Haqq, Raza-ul-Haqq, and Faiz-ul-Haqq ; and one daughter.

(2) *Qazi Muhammad Nizam-ud-din Khan.*

He was a scholar, a good Mathematician, a prose writer, a poet, and a *Hafiz*.[4]

In the year 1151 A.H., he was appointed Qazi of Ahmedabad by the Emperor, and received a robe of honour and an elephant. He enforced observance of the Muslim Law strictly, and went so far that in the year 1163 A.H. with a handful of Muslims, unaided by the Governor, he raided a temple of unbelievers, who had built it inside the city at Shahpur, and who used to blow their horn at a time when the Muazzin was calling to prayers in the mosque near. When the news reached the Emperor of Delhi, Ahmad Shah, he was pleased and conferred

1 "The grantor of desires."

2 *Thuli*—'a kind of sweet food prepared from the husks of wheat' (Belsare, *Guj. Dictionary*).

3 *Altamgha* (Turkish, 'Red Seal'). A grant under the Royal Seal conferring a title to rent free land in perpetuity, hereditary and transferable (Wilson's *Glossary*).

4 One who has committed the *Quran* to memory.

a robe of honour on the Qazi and gave him an elephant. The Qazi died on the night of the 12th Zu'l-Qa'da 1165 A.H., and was buried by the side of his father towards the east. He left no issue. He wrote dissertations on such subjects as 'The excellence of Knowledge,' 'Time,' 'The seasons,' 'Coffee,' etc. His descendants hold a free grant of two villages—one, Bayanche, by virtue of Muhammad Shah's *farman*, and the other, Nadej, by virtue of the Governor's *parwana*.

(3) *Shaikh Mahmud.*

who died young on the 5th Rabi I, leaving no issue. He is buried by the tomb of his grandfather. Dilasapura, a part of the village of Mahij, belongs to his descendants.

(4) *Shaikh Fakr-ud-din*

was born deaf and dumb, but he was very intelligent and wrote a beautiful hand, especially in *Nashkh* and *Nastaliq.*[1] He wrote out a number of copies of the *Quran*.

(5) *Baha-ud-din abul Bashar*

died in infancy. And the three daughters of the Shaikh were Hamida, Saida, and Afifa; all virtuous ladies.

While writing these pages it occurred to me that I should first enumerate the various families of the Seyyids who have settled here, and then give a detailed account of their leading men.

(1) Bukhari Seyyid—the descendants of Hazrat-i-Qutb Alam and his son Hazrat-i-Shah Alam.

(2) Qadiria Seyyids—the descendants of Hazrat-i-Seyyid[2] Abdul Qadir Jilani. Prominent among them are Seyyid Jamal Patthari; Seyyid Abdul Jalil; and Seyyid Abdul Khaliq.

(3) Shirazi Seyyids, divided into three branches:

(*a*) Seyyid Ahmad Ja'far and his sons;

(*b*) Sons of Seyyid Kamal-ud-din, who is buried in old Asawal behind the Jame Masjid;

[1] Two forms of Persian penmanship.

[2] 'The celebrated founder of the Qadiriyah order of Darvishes surnamed Pir Dastagir. He died and was buried at Baghdad A.H. 561' (Hughes' *Dictionary*).

(c) Seyyid Abu Turab, and his sons.

(4) Rifai Seyyids—descendants of Seyyid Ahmad Kabir Rifai. One of them was Seyyid Abd-ur-Rahim, who is buried at Sultanpur outside the fort of Ahmedabad. His sons were Shah Aliji Kanudhani, and others.

(5) Mashhadi Seyyids—sons of Seyyid Sharaf-ud-din, the son-in-law of Makhdum-i-Jahanian; they are buried at Broach.

(6) Idrusia Seyyids—sons of Sharif Abu Bakr Idrus, chief of Hadramaut in Arabia. He is buried at Johariwara in Ahmedabad, and his descendants are found in Broach and Surat to this day.

(7) Tirmizi Seyyids—descendants of Makdnum Seyyid Yahya, successor of Makhdum-i-Jahanian. He is buried [1] outside Baroda, near the Mataria tank.

(8) Bhaktari Seyyids—descendants of Seyyid Badr Bhaktari, successor of Makhdum-Jahanian.

(9) Arizi Seyyids—Seyyid Khondamir and Seyyid Yaqub, who are buried in Bibipur.

(10) Zaidia Seyyids—the chief of them is Seyyid Usman surnamed *Sham'-i-Burhani* who has been mentioned above.

Qadiria Seyyids.

Seyyid Jamal Patthari: Son of Seyyid Hussain, who was descended from Seyyid Abd-ul-Wahhab son of Seyyid Abdul Qadir Jilani. His father came to the Deccan from the island of Ormuz, and settled at Patthar in Ahmednagar. When Sultan Bahadur went to the Deccan he brought the Seyyid back with him with all respect and honour, and built a house and a convent for him in his capital. The Seyyid left five sons: Amin-ullah, Yatim-ullah, Sufi-ullah, Husain-ud-din, and Badr-ud-din. Yatim-ullah was a wise man and a teacher who succeeded his father. The Seyyid died in 971 A.H., and is buried near the Raikhar gate. His anniversary ceremony is performed on 23rd Sha'ban.

Seyyid Ghiyas-ud-din: Son of Seyyid Abdul Jalil, son of Seyyid Abdul Wahhab, surnamed Shahji, a descendant of

[1] Near the Bechrājī Temple, Baroda.

Seyyid Abdul Qadir Jilani. He and the father of Seyyid Abdul Wahhab died as martyrs in Gujarat, and he is buried at Saraswati in the district of Ahmedabad. The anniversary ceremony is performed on 13th Muharram. Many miraculous deeds are attributed to him.

Seyyid Qutb-ud-din: He is a descendant of Seyyid Abdul Wahhab, son of Seyyid Abdul Qadir Jilani. He settled in Gujarat, and is buried in Jamalpur inside the City with his grandson Seyyid Abdul Khaliq, who held two villages, Khanpur and Chokar, in Pargana Dholka.

Shirazi Seyyids.

Seyyid Ahmad Ja'far: His grandfather, Seyyid Muhammad, left Shiraz and settled in Sind. Seyyid Ja'far, his father, came from Sind and stayed in Gujarat for some time, and then leaving his son Seyyid Ahmad as his successor here, went back to Sind. Seyyid Ahmad was twelve years old at the time of his father's departure. He studied Sufiism, and passed his time in devotion and asceticism. Every night he used to recite half the *Quran* during the course of two *rak'at*[1] prayers. That he might have hardships to suffer he made the pilgrimage to Mecca by land. During his perilous journeys, at times, he had no food and lived on the leaves of trees. He refused to accept any State aid, and forbade others to take presents. When Humayun conquered Gujarat many of the Ulamas and Shaikhs left Ahmedabad and settled outside, but he remained and provided, from some mysterious source, two seers of corn to every person. He was wont to put on fine clothes; he lived a recluse for forty years, coming out only on Fridays and feast days for prayers. As for his daily prayers, he offered them in his house in the company of his disciples. This was done in his calmer moments, but when in a trance, none knew in what case he was.

Once he did not come out, even on Fridays and feast days, for full twelve years. This happened when Rāṇā Sāngā of Chitor raided Ahmednagar and carried off many daughters of the Seyyids and ordered them to be taught to be dancing girls

[1] *Rak'at*: the bending posture proper to the beginning of each prayer section.

Thereupon the Seyyid vowed that he would never come out until the Sultan of Gujarat inflicted chastisement on the Rāṇā. And when he knew that Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat had taken Chitor he abandoned his retirement. It is said that Sultan Mahmud Begada once begged the Seyyid to provide him with mangoes at a time when the season was over. The Seyyid commanded his servant and many mangoes were provided, the attendants receiving two each ! He died on 16th Safar 944 A.H.

Seyyid Abu Turab : His grandfather and Seyyid Shah Mir came from Shiraz and settled in Muhammadabad (Champaner) in 898 A.H., during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada. Both of them are buried here.

Seyyid Abu Turab was invited by the Sultans of Gujarat and settled in Ahmedabad in a newly founded quarter. In the reign of Akbar he was appointed leader of the Meccan pilgrims, and on his return brought from Mecca the Prophet's Footprint, as has been mentioned already. He died on 13th Jumadi I 1003 A.H. His mausoleum is situated at Asawal, which he had founded.

Seyyid Kamal-ud-din : Son of Seyyid Shah Mir. He is buried behind the Jami Masjid in old Asawal. His anniversary is held on 25th Rabi II.

Rifa'ia Seyyids.

Seyyid Abdur Rahim : A descendant of Seyyid Ahmad Kabir. He is buried in his village of Sultanpur, outside the Raipur gate. His anniversary is celebrated on 14th Shavval.

Shah Aliji Kanudhani : Grandson of Seyyid Abdur Rahim. He composed hymns in Hindi. His divan is like the divan of Maghribi in tone and spirit. His tomb is situated by the side of Shah Ghazi's. He lived to the age of seventy-seven and died in 973 A.H. His anniversary is on 14th Jumadi I.

Shah Aliji Nadirullah : His name was Seyyid Abdul Kadir, son of Seyyid Mustafa, son of Shah Aliji Kanudhani. He is buried in the above mausoleum. His anniversary is celebrated on 17th Safar.

Mashhadi Seyyids.

Seyyid Muhammad Murad, disciple of Seyyid Muhammad Mahbub Alam. He is buried at Naotar.

Idrusia Seyyids.

Sharif Shaikh Sharif son of Abdullah, buried at Johariwara in Ahmedabad. He was a meek and humble man, and he used to say "If any one kisses my feet, it seems as if he is thrusting an arrow into my eye. And if he kisses my hand, I feel as if he slapped me." He died on 25th Ramazan. His well known work is entitled *Aqd-i-Nabavi*. His son Seyyid Abdullah is buried in Broach, and his grandson Seyyid Muhammad Idrus in Surat.[1]

Arizi Seyyids.

Seyyid Khondamir: Son of Seyyid Badha, son of Seyyid Yaqub. He received the oath of fealty and was appointed successor by his uncle Seyyid Shadi son of Seyyid Yaqub, son of Mahmud, son of Seyyid Kabir, brother of Seyyid Husain surnamed *Khing suwar*[2] (successor to Nizam-ud-din Aulia), who came from Persia and rest in Pattan. It is said that Khondamir's mother Bibi Hassu before she nursed him would first wash and pray thus :—

"Lord, if this child is to be a virtuous man let him live;
if not, let his small soul pass away,"

When he was two and a half years old his father died, and he was brought up by his mother and his uncle; when he was twelve this uncle appointed him his successor, and then died. But there was a quarrel with another uncle; so Khondamir and his mother left Pattan and settled in Ahmedabad. Here he married, and was taught Sufiism by Hazrat-i-Qutb Alam and Shaikh Abdul Fattah who was instructed by Saint Seyyid Muhammad (*Gisu diraz*) through Seyyid Ala-ud-din. Khondamir used to say that he had divided the blessing which he had received into three parts—one for himself, one for his children, and the third for good men in general. It is said that Malik Sha'ban, *Vazir* of Sultan Ahmad, had great faith in Khondamir, but owing to his official engagements was not able to pay his respects regularly; therefore his son-in-law Malik Khushbash was appointed as his substitute. One day Khondamir's mother asked for a piece of land for a burial

[1] The Edrus family is well-known in Surat to the present day.

[2] 'Rider of the grey horse'.

ground. Malik Sha'ban when told of this, at once wrote out a *parwana* for the grant of twelve villages. But this was refused. Then Malik Khushbash offered the mausoleum which he was erecting for himself. The lady drove to see the spot, and, taking up a handful of dust, smelt it, and said, "The place pleases me; let it be reserved for the one who first dieth amongst us". And Malik Khushbash died first, and was buried there.

Seyyid Khondamir died on 4th Rabi II 874 A.H., and is buried at Bibipur by the side of his mother, Bibiji, a virtuous lady and one whose father was a righteous man and whose mother a noble and chaste woman, the daughter of Maulana Zia. She brought up her son Khondamir tenderly, and when he grew up she became his disciple. One day she gave a gold *mohur* to her father to buy a robe, but the coin fell from his hand. He bent down to pick it up, but to his astonishment saw two gold *mohurs*. He covered them with dust, and returned home empty-handed. On being asked the reason he said, "For fear of taking another's coin I did not pick up mine." But the lady replied "Then thou shouldst have come back to me at once, for here is thine own piece in the wall niche." She died on 4th Jumadi II, and as her son Khondamir also died on the same date, her anniversary is performed on the 5th. Her tomb is at Bibipur.

Seyyid Yaqub Chishti: Son of Khondamir, was a handsome youth who was taken a fancy to by Malik Muhammad Ikhtiyar, who wanted to train him up himself. Khondamir understanding the Malik's intention, sent his son Yaqub to be adopted and trained by him. Malik taught him learning and Sufiism and gave him the name of *Khond-sa'id*. One day Malik being pleased with the boy was about to take his cap and place it on the young Seyyid's head. The boy politely refused saying "Give it to your son Malik, my brother in faith." When the young Seyyid returned home, his father Khondamir, hearing of this incident, took him to task, saying "For that thou wast sent; thou didst wrong to refuse this honour. Now buy fruit and offer them to Malik, and make supplication for the boon again." The young Seyyid did so, and Malik, listening to his supplication spoke thus:—"Little *Khond*, thou needest it not; it is the *elder Khond* who needs it. I should have given it to my own son, but we are the

trustees of the Divine treasure, and we give it to him who is pointed out from above. I thank God thou art chosen, for thou art dearer to me than my own son." And saying this Malik placed his cap on the head of the young Seyyid. "Sir" murmured the young Seyyid, "I grieve for Miskin, thine own son; do somewhat for him I pray." "My son," replied Malik, "now mayest thou give it to him thyself." And the Seyyid gave the cap to Malik Miskin.

It is recorded in the memoirs of the Seyyid that he and Hazrat-i-Shah Alam were bosom friends. They had seventy meetings, in which in a state of ecstacy they exchanged their apparel, and embracing each other would say, "We are becoming successors to each other."

It is said that the Seyyid was an accomplished Sufi, and was attended by nobles, kings, Darvishes, Sufis, and Ulamas—all of whom received blessings from him. In his seances rapture was felt, and the singers were liberally rewarded, as well as the poor and the needy who flocked to him. He used to say 'Neglect of daily ceremonies is worse than death for a Darvish.' He died on 2nd Zu'l-Qa'da 927 A.H.

Shaikh Wajih-ud-din Ahmad-al-Alavi.

He was a son of Shaikh Nasrullah and an accomplished scholar and renowned Sufi. He was descended from Muhammad Aziz, son of the [1] Imam Muhammad al-Jawad. In the time of the Sultans of Gujarat one of his ancestors, Seyyid Baha-ud-din of Mecca, came from Arabia and settled in Muhammadabad, (Champaner). He married, was highly honoured by the Sultan, and lived and died at Champaner. His grandson, Seyyid Imad-ud-din was appointed Qazi of Patri in Pargana Viramgam. Shaikh Wajih-ud-din was born in Muhammadabad in the month of Muharram 910 A.H. as is calculated from the word *Shaikh.*

From the age of five till he was thirty-three he lived the life of a student learning various branches of knowledge and Sufiism; he passed the remainder of his life in teaching his pupils in Ahmedabad, devoting his spare time to writing and preparing notes and commentaries. He possessed the inner knowledge, and

[1] The ninth Shia Imam, died 220.A.H.

lived the life of a recluse, visiting no one. He was the disciple of Shah Qazan Chishti, but followed more especially Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, under whom he completed his Sufiistic studies. It so happened that when Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus came to Ahmedabad, the Ulamas under the leadership of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, a great scholar and a Sufi, wrote out a *fatwa* for his assassination on a charge of holding heretical views. The Sultan, however, before giving his final assent, referred the matter to Maulana Wajih-ud-din, who went to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. But no sooner had he seen the Shaikh than the Maulana tore the *fatwa* in pieces and exclaimed "Ali Muttaqi, surely thou hast no knowledge of the acquirements of the Shaikh." Afterwards the Maulana used to say, "Follow the law as was done by Ali Muttaqi, but follow also the spirit of truth in the light of our [1] *Murshid's* teaching." And in truth Shaikh Ghaus was an inspired preceptor. The Maulana died at the age of eighty, as is calculated from [2] *Wajih-i-Din*, on the last day of Muharram 998 A.H., as is calculated from *Shaikh Wajih-i-Din*. He is buried inside the rampart wall at Khanpur, in the school which was built by Sadiq Khan. The reservoir and the mosque were built by Shaikh Haidar, one of the grandsons of the Maulana. His descendants, who have settled in the city and in Burhanpur, are men of light and learning, and devote their time to teaching. They live on the income yielded by Barejari in Pargana Haveli and other lands granted by various rulers. A daily allowance of Rs. 1-4-0 from the *langar* grants of Sultan Ahmad's mausoleum is also given to students and to the poor. Owing, however, to the present misrule, this allowance has been stopped: but the people, in large numbers still visit the Maulana's tomb.

Nur Bakhshia Seyyids.

Seyyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh :—He belongs to the Kubravia order and was the successor of Shaikh Najm-ud-din Kubra. He was born in Jaunpur, and was a great mystic. Miraculous powers are attributed to him, attracting many people from all over India, especially from the district of Dhandar.

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1 The Sufi's spiritual leader, *i.e.*, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus.

2 'The Prince of the Faith.'

Once he visited Gujarat, where he became so popular that the inhabitants of Palanpur, Viramgam, Mandol, and Dasara, believed in him in numbers. His followers, however, seeing so many miracles, went to the extreme, and hailed the Seyyid as the promised Mahdi; but he never claimed such honour. Later on, Sultan Mahmud the martyr, Muzaffar the last Sultan of Gujarat, Itimad Khan the *Vazir* Sher Khan, and Musa Fuladi, and the rulers and many artisans of Palanpur—all adhered to this new sect of Mahdavia.

In the reign of Shah Jahan, when Prince Aurangzeb was Viceroy of Gujarat, certain Seyyids headed by Seyyid Raju of Palanpur served the Prince, who publicly acknowledged their services and praised Seyyid Raju, calling him a virtuous and brave man. Some of the courtiers pointed out to the Prince that those Seyyids were Mahdavias, who believed that the Promised Mahdi [1] had come and gone; and, if this be so, the door of repentance was locked according to the orthodox view, and there was no need for any supplication after the daily prayers. Accordingly, when Seyyid Raju with his followers waited on the Prince, the latter inquired about the [1] Promised Mahdi. "He has come and gone," answered Raju.

The Prince then turned to the Ulamas, and asked their opinion, and they spoke thus: "There have been many *anti-christs*, who were believed to be Mahdis, but in the end were slain by the champions of the Faith. But the Promised Mahdi will come towards the end of the world, as is given in the traditions. How then, can these people consider Seyyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh the Promised Mahdi?"

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1 *Mahdi-i-mau'ud* 'Promised Mahdi.' As in the writings of Jews and Christians, there are certain traditions on the authority of which Muslims believe in a deliverer who is to be a descendant of the Prophet and whose advent is predicted after the second coming of Christ. The Shia sect of the twelve believe that the Promised Mahdi was born in 869 A.D. but disappeared at the age of ten in a cave in Sarmanrai or Sanarra near Baghdad. They believe him to be still alive and say that he will reappear at the second coming of Christ. This Muslim idea has led to the rise of many a false Mahdi in different countries since the days of the Abbasid Khalifs. In India Seyyid Muhammad of Jaunpur (847 A.H.), mentioned by the author, was said to be the Mahdi, and his followers are still found in Palanpur and other places, and are called Mahdavis.

• "The sword," exclaimed Raju, "is our proof." A fight was imminent, when the Prince orderd the assembly to disperse. Raju and his followers were then dismissed from service, but they assembled outside the city at Gulab Bagh, and decided to vindicate their cause by force of arms. They collected a large number of their followers from Palanpur and other places, and took up a defiant attitude.

The Prince consulted the Ulamas, who said to him : "Verily they are heretics and ought to be killed. But let them first be asked to disperse. If they fail, the Prince has authority to kill them." And a sergeant with the Qazi's writ informed them that, as they had been dismissed from service, they must leave the place. But they refused to listen to him. So the Prince sent another officer, who in the name of the Prince ordered them to disperse. "We obey our religious guide and none else" answered the malcontents. The enraged Prince then ordered the bailiffs to cut the ropes of their tents, and a small troop was sent to do this. But when the tents fell, the Mahdavias drew their swords, and a general fight ensued. The Prince sent another detachment, and the Mahdavias, who were but a mob armed with sticks, took to flight and abandoned Seyyid Raju, who, with his chosen attendants, fought bravely and fell fighting. Weavers, carders, dyers, milksellers, of this city, are generally Mahdavias. Many of the inhabitants of Palanpur, Dholka, Viramgam, Dasara, and Eandol, belong to this sect, and are called Nur Bakhshis. But they are ignorant folk and quarrelsome fanatics. "And Islam is his who follows the Guidance."

The leaders of the Chishtiya order who have come to this land from abroad, and lived and now rest here.

Shah Barekullah.

Disciple and successor of Hazrati-i-Nizam-ud-din Aulia (of Delhi). His mausoleum is outside the Idar gate near Hajipura. They say that when the title of *Shah Alam* was bestowed on the Saint by the Almighty, our Lord the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace) spoke to him, and said, "God hath entitled thee Shah

Alam." And he said, " How shall I publish this matter ?" And he answered, " Go to thy father and guide ; he will send thee to Shah Barekullah Chishti. Thy title shall be published from there." So he went to the Saint, who smiled and said " Come, O Shah Alam ; go to Shah Barekullah." And he let him go. And he obeyed, and went to Shah Barekullah. Now Barekullah was building a wall, and his disciples were bringing him mud and bricks. And the Shahi Saint gave him a basket of mud, and Shah Barekullah saw how the case was, and hailed him, saying " Come, Shah Alam ; the canopy of Kingship befits thee." And he took him and made him work. Then he came down and took Shah Alam, and entered the house of his younger brother Ataullah. Then he gave him a potful of baked beans, and told him to go home. He was followed by servants who were ordered to return from that spot where they heard the title of Shah Alam announced by heaven and earth and all that in them is.

Placing the pot on his head Shah Alam proceeded homeward followed by the servant. When he reached the city market at the spot called the ' Three Gates', a blind, deaf, and dumb, drummer who earned his bread by begging, straightway at the touch of the Saint regained his lost senses, and could see and hear and speak ! Thrilled with joy the poor man, beating his drum cried out " Shah Alam, Shah Alam." And heaven and earth re-echoed, " Shah Alam, Shah Alam."

" Thou canst return " said the Saint to the servant, and quickly he went to his father Hazrat-i-Qutb Alam and gave him the pot of beans, and told him what had befallen him."

This is the explanation of the saying current in Gujarat, " The Chishtis baked and the Bokharis ate." Shah Barekullah is buried outside the Idaria Gate.

Musa Sohag.

It is said that[1] he belonged to the Chishtia order, and, wearing bracelets on his arms, lived among the street dancers, so as to conceal his Sufism. (See the *Rauzat-i-Shahi.*) When he died,

[1] See *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 281, for some account of this Faqir, and why he dressed like a woman ; how his prayers brought rain ; how, to avoid the exuberance of his admirers, he prayed that the earth might cover him ; and how the King tried to dig him up, but was deceived by the appearance of his head in different places.

Hazrat-i-Shah Alam sent his successor designate Miyan Makhdum, saying, "Musa Sohag has passed away, go and bury him with due honour; but beware, remove not his bracelets, for men, as sayeth the tradition, will rise on the day of resurrection as they lived in this world. And let his grave have no distinction, for he concealed his Sufism in life; so let it be after his death." So there are now four graves in the Bagh-i-Shahi, and no one knows which is Musa Sohag's. His anniversary ceremony is performed on the 10th Rajab.

Shaikh Hasan Muhammad.

Son of Shaikh Ahmad, better known as Shaikh Miyanji, was a scholar and a Sufi. At the age of five or six he was appointed successor to Shaikh Jamal-ud-din Jumman. He also acquired the succession of the Kadiria, Nur Bakhshia, Taifuria and other orders from Muhammad Ali son of Nur Bakhsh, a pious man who knew the events of past and present and future times. When he grew up his father also appointed him his successor, and many people became his disciples. Sultan Muhammad the martyr and other nobles of Gujarat believed in him, and the Sultan bestowed on him Asarwa and other villages—in all fourteen *Chaklas* outside the gate of Rukn-ul-mulk also belonged to him. So he was rich. And he was wont to celebrate the festivals of the *Pirs* and distribute food to the poor. The stone mosque inside the city near Shahpur gate was built by the Shaikh in eight years at a cost of one hundred thousand rupees. But some of the walls and minarets remained unfinished owing to the change of dynasty and the robbing of the Shaikh's property. The following chronogram[1] is inscribed on the left of the middle arch:—

Shaikh Hasan, of his time the guiding star,
A mosque did build where men pray for his soul.
They see this "building of the Shaikh" afar,
Its date they know, its elegance extol.

The Shaikh wrote a commentary on the *Quran* called the *Tafsir-i-Muhammadi*, in which he has pointed out the natural connection of the verses and which is approved by the Ulamas. He also wrote notes on the *Tafsir-i-Baizawi*, and various other

[1] 'Bena-i-Shaikh' — the building of the Shaikh — gives 973 A.H.

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notes and compositions. He taught for forty-one years, twenty-seven in the presence of his father and fourteen after his father's death. He was born in 923 A.H. and died on Tuesday 28th Zu'l-Qa'da 982 A.H., at the age of fifty-nine. He had six children —four sons and two daughters, *viz.* (1) Shaikh Kamal-ud-din; (2) Shaikh Muhammad, who succeeded his father; (3) Shaikh Qutb Muhammad, who settled in Burhanpur and is buried near the tomb of Shaikh Majen; (4) Shaikh Saleh Muhammad. The two daughters were (5) Bibi Khadija and (6) Bibi Ayesha, surnamed Achchi Ma, a virtuous lady devoted to the reading of the *Quran* and working wonders.

Miyan Shaikh Muhammad.

The head of the Gnostics[1] of his time, son of Shaikh Hasan Chishti. He was a manifestation of Divine Power, and many miracles are attributed to him. He was born in 956 A.H., as is calculated from *Shaikh Wali.* He acquired Sufiistic and theological knowledge from his father, with whose departed soul, when he was dead, he used to commune for the solving of his difficulties. He visited Seyyid Jalal-ud-din Mah Alam, who paid him due honour and said, "Verily, Miyan Shaikh Muhammad's fame will spread far and wide, and many people will believe in him. He will be the author of many Sufiistic works, and Sufis will look up to his authority." When he succeeded his father some of his disciples asked for the *sanads* issued by the Sultans of Gujarat for the maintenance of his ancestors, so that they might be presented before the Emperor Akbar and renewed by him. "Darvishes," remarked the Shaikh, "should not be beholden to temporal rulers. The true King of Kings—God the Almighty —is enough for His creatures." Being pressed again, he washed the writing off all the *sanads* and threw them into the reservoir of his convent. Facing poverty and the enmity of the people he left the city, and retired to his own mosque on the banks of the Sabar, and came to the city to his own convent for Friday prayers only. Thus he lived for some years, until the people, seeing his

1 مقتدای اهل عرفان 'the pattern of the people of Gnosis.' "While ordinary knowledge is denoted by the term '*ilm*, the mystic knowledge peculiar to the Sufi's called *ma'rifat* or '*irfan*' " (Nicholson's *Mystics of Islam*, p. 71).

miracles, believed in him and brought him back. He devoted his time to teaching and listening in a state of trance to Sufi songs unaccompanied by musical instruments.

It is said that one day he heard a mysterious voice from above saying, "We give thee the title of *Qutb*; do accordingly." For three days the Shaikh remained in a state of trance, and then on the 26th Ramazan 1002 A.H. he ordered his servant to keep ready a quantity of sugar. Next day, early in the morning after morning prayers, Sharif Abdul Kadir, son of Sharif Shaikh Idrus (buried at Joharipura) was the first to appear before the Shaikh, greeting him as Qutb. This title was soon on the lips of all men on every side. Sugar was then distributed by the Sharif, who soon after returned to his home. One day when he went to Delhi to pay a visit to the shrine of Khwaja Nasir-ud-din *Chiraghi—Dilhi* (the Lamp of Delhi), he dismissed all the keepers of the shrine as well as his own servants, and went inside the sepulchre alone. Suddenly the Khwaja's grave, a piece of solid stone, split open, and the Shaikh entered therein. One of the servants who was watching there beckoned to the other servants, and all marvelled at what they saw. When the Shaikh came out his face was shining like the sun. The news of this strange thing spread in the city, and the crack in the tomb is still shown to the people. When Jahangir, who was then at Ajmere, heard of it he invited the Shaikh and paid the cost of his visit. The Emperor was pleased with him and gave him many presents, all of which were refused, except one village which was given as a maintenance grant.

In the year 1027 A.H. when Jahangir came to Ahmedabad he expressed a wish through Seyyid Ahamad Qadiri to see the Shaikh. The Shaikh came to him when the Emperor was looking at the tame lions. Suddenly a lion, breaking its cage, got out, and all fled before it. But the beast, looking towards the Shaikh, came to him as a dog wagging its tail, and placed its head on the Shaikh's feet. The Shaikh died on the morning of Sunday 29th Rabi I 1040 A.H., as is calculated from *Wasil-i-Haq Muhammad Chishti*.[1]

He is buried by the side of his father on the east. He left

[1] United with God, Muhammad Chishti.

four sons, *viz.*: (1) Shaikh Hasan Muhammad, who used to pray "O God, let me die in the faith before my father, for I cannot bear the pangs of separation." Hearing of the death of his father he fell swooning, and on the third day he died. (2) Shaikh Muhammad, the favourite of his father, was a recluse who died in the same year on 6th Rabi II. (3) Shaikh Siraj-ud-din was the manager of the household. He waived his claim to succession in favour of his nephew Miyan Shaikh Yahya. He died in 1050 A.H. (4) Shaikh Azizullah, who was brought up by Shaikh Siraj-ud-din.

Miyan Shaikh Yahya Chishti.

Shaikh Mohiy-ud-din Abu Yusuf Yahya, son of Shaikh Mahmud, son of Shaikh Muhammad Chishti, was a divine unmatched and a famous Sufi. He was born on Thursday 20th Ramazan 1010 A.H. At the age of twenty he had completed his theological and Sufiistic studies under his grandfather, and had committed to memory the whole of the *Quran*. In the lifetime of his grandfather he accepted service under Saif Khan and Isa Tar Khan, but even in service he lived a life of piety and righteousness. Once soldiers, going to collect the revenues of Sorath, raided a village, and secured corn and money for themselves and their horses. But Miyan Yahya would take no part, and sat down quietly holding the reins of his horse. The soldiers pressed him to take something, saying that he would get nothing elsewhere, but he refused and slept that night hungry. In a vision he saw a man holding in one hand sweetmeats tied in a kerchief and in the other some hay. Miyan Yahya and his horse were both satisfied, for the man was Hazrat-i-Khizr[1] himself. After the death of his grandfather he succeeded him, and lived the life of a recluse. Prince Aurangzeb, then viceroy of Gujarat, once invited him, but he replied "To call a Darvish means to ask for his blessing. But I pray for thee already. Of what use then is my coming? But if to obey a ruler's command I appear before thee, the blessing will be a forced one and vain." The Prince himself went to the sage,

[1] For Al-Khizr see Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*. He is a mysterious prophet whose identity is not agreed upon. He discovered, and is said to have drunk of, the fountain of life.

and asked for his blessing; the Shaikh blessed him. And it so happened that the Prince came to the throne, and proved a defender of the faith. During his viceroyalty he used to present two hundred rupees annually to the Shaikh; but after his coronation he sent him one thousand rupees, a turban, a cloak, a belt, and a letter in his own hand.

The Shaikh loved the Nativity[1] ceremony, and to hear the Sufis' songs without instruments as was the wont of the Chishtis. Mirza Baqir the Muhtasib, in obedience to a royal order, suppressed all such assemblies throughout the city, but the Shaikh defied the order, to the grief of the Muhtasib[2] and the people. So the Muhtasib one day sat in the house of the Chief of the Arabs, thinking to bring out the musicians from the Shaikh's convent. The Shaikh, hearing of it, armed his disciples, and himself sat ready with a dagger. The Chief of the Arabs thought it not well at that time to meddle with the Shaikh, and persuaded the Muhtasib to go back.

The Shaikh sent word to the Emperor through Shaikh Abdulla son of Shaikh Nizam, but the latter being prevailed upon by the enemies of the Shaikh did not present the Shaikh's letter before the emperor. At last a letter was sent through Mir Seyyid Ali Rizvi Khan. The Emperor kissed the letter of the Shaikh, and made amends by issuing four mandates addressed to the following :—Raja Jaswant Singh, then Nazim of Gujarat; Nazim-ud-din Ahmad the Diwan; Mir Baha-ud-din; and Qazi Muhammad Sharif. These four officers were ordered to censure Mirza Baqir, to bid him refrain from meddling in these matters, and to wait upon the Shaikh and present on behalf of the Emperor one thousand rupees and four *tolas* of *itr*. So, thereafter, no man interfered with the Shaikh's ceremonies. The Shaikh, with his mother's consent, had made the pilgrimage to Mecca with his brother. After her death he again prepared for the holy journey, and was minded to settle at Mecca. He left the city quietly and halted at Kharia in the mosque of Maulana Muham-

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1 'Maolud' the Nativity of the Prophet.

2 'The public censor of religion and morals, who is appointed by a Muslim ruler to punish Muslims for neglecting the rites of their religion. (Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam.*)

mad Qasim. People came to bid him farewell. But a certain Abdul Wahid Bohra, an orthodox Mulla who hated the Sufis and the ceremonies loved by the Shaikh mocked at him, and declared such parties were nothing but grunting, and it was all humbug. The Shaikh, being informed of this insult, cursed the man, saying "This fellow shall himself grunt." And it so happened that one evening, when the Bohra was leading the evening prayer and reciting the opening chapter of the *Quran*, of a sudden he grunted, for he could not utter the words *Ghair'l-maghdhub*[1]; but only a grunt came from him, however much he tried. He was forced to leave the prayer unfinished, and another was put in his place. And thereafter, whenever he stood up to pray he could do nought but grunt when he came to the words *Ghairi'l-maghdhub*. This story is well known among the people of this land.

When the Shaikh reached Surat he was told the inconveniences likely to be met with on board ship for his ablutions and the rest. "Why", said the Shaikh, "should one so act as to need such things?" And, throughout his journey he took nothing but coffee, and did not need ablution until after forty days he reached Jeddah. Having an injured leg he tarried at Mecca for one year, and for the remaining fourteen years of his life he lived at Medina, where he passed away while praying on Sunday the 18th Safar 1101 A.H., at the ripe old age of ninety. He is buried by the side of the tomb of Hazrat-i-Usman in Medina. His descendants are still living.

Shaikh Ali Muttaqi.

Son of Shaikh Abu Muhammad, son of Shaikh Hasan, son of Shaikh Raja, one of the descendants of[2] Hazrat-i-Salman-i-Farsi.

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[1] صراط الذين انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين.

"The way—not of those against whom thou art angered, nor of those who go astray." *Quran*, Chapter I. The two words have such a collection of Arabic guttural letters that one feels almost inclined to excuse the Bohra who could not pronounce them.

[2] A companion of the Prophet, born near Isfahan in the middle of the sixth century A.D. In his youth he abandoned Zoroastrianism and frequented the Christian churches of Isfahan and later in Syria. Hearing of the advent of an Arabian prophet who would restore the pure faith of Abraham, he went to Medina

He was the disciple and successor of Shaikh Muhammad Chishti who has been mentioned above, and he led a life of unequalled piety and scrupulousness. He abstained from food provided by others than his preceptors, and used to pick up and prepare for his meals the waste vegetables which were left by the green-grocers by the riverside. He is an author, and certain super-human powers are attributed to him. In his old age he became a cripple. He died in Rajab II 1040 A.H. and is buried in old Asawal opposite the tomb of Shah Bhikan.

Makhdum Shaikh Azizullah.

He was known as *Mutawakkil*,[1] and he performed miracles. Some of his children were learned Sufis. He died on 23rd Safar, and is buried at Madanpur.

Makhdum Shaikh Rahmatullah.

Son of Shaikh Azizullah Siddiqi was a pious man and the religious guide of Sultan Mahmud Begada. He is buried at Shaikhpur which was founded by him, and his anniversary ceremony is performed on 28th Jumadi II.

Khustra Bibi.

One of the daughters of Makhdum Shaik Rafiullah, son of Shaikh Sadullah, son of Shaikh Azizullah the *Mutawakkil*. She was the maternal aunt of Shaikh Muhammad Chishti, was renowned for her piety and knowledge, and lived to a good old age. In the year 1020 A.H. when the Emperor Jahangir came to Ahmedabad he expressed a wish to see the lady. "We are retired Purdah Ladies", she said, "and should not wait on kings. And if the Emperor seeks our blessing, we are already praying for him." The Emperor excused her, and had faith in her. She is buried at Nasirabad near the tomb of Miyan Makhdum Ataullah, son of Shaikh Nasrullah Chishti.

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and accepted Islam. By his skill in military engineering he rendered material service to the Prophet, especially in the battle known as the Jang-i-khandaq (see Ameer Ali's *Spirit of Islam*, page 169.) Later on he was appointed viceroy of Persia in the time of the Khalifa Umar. He died at Madain (Ctesiphon) 653 A.D. (33 A.H.).

[1] متوكل على الله "Trusting in God."

Miyan Khan Chishti.

Chief of the hermits of his time. He built a cell, near Multanpur by the riverside, and lived there as a recluse. He is buried near the big mosque built by Malik Maqsud. The line of his discipleship reaches to Khwaja Nasir-ud-din "The Lamp of Delhi" in the following manner:—

Miyan Khan disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din of Narnul, who is buried at Khattu Khurd;

Disciple of Khwaja Khatun Ali Taj Chishti of Nagor;

Disciple of Khwaja Ismail son of Khwaja Hasan 'Sarmast' Faruqi Chishti:

Disciple of Khwaja Hasan 'Sarmast' son of Khwaja Salar:

Disciple of Khwaja Ikhtiyar-ud-din Umar:

Disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Sawi;

Disciple of Khwaja Nasir-ud-din 'the Lamp of Delhi'.

He seldom gave audience, but kept his door closed. If any person knocked at the door, he would inquire whether it was the first visit, and if the answer was 'yes' he opened the door, gave a brief audience, and dismissed the visitor. But if he found that the visitor has come to pay a second visit he would say that he was the same old Faqir, and that there was no need for a further visit. One day it happened that Shaikh Muhammad Chishti, taking leave of his father Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti, knocked at the door of Miyan Khan, who called out 'Who is there?'" Trembling with emotion Shaikh Muhammad raised his voice and said, "How long wilt thou go on repeating 'Who is there, who is there?'" The Miyan, having taken thought sighed and said, "I understand Shaikh Hasan Muhammad's son has come." The door was opened, and they sat long, speaking of mystic things. The Miyan died on 5th Jumadi I.

Miyan Ghaiban Shah, the Mystic.[1]

He was a mystic and often used to come to Shaikh Muhammad Chishti. When Muzaffar defeated Akbar's Governor and himself sat on the throne of Gujarat, Shaikh Saleh Muhammad,

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[1] مجذوبی (Majzubi).

son of Shaikh Hasan, inquired about the fortune of Muzaffar. "Who is this Muzaffar ?" exclaimed the mystic ; "I am Muzaffar." And it so happened that in a short time Muzaffar fled from the battlefield was taken captive and beheaded. The mystic is buried outside the Shahpur gate. People visit his tomb with offerings of peas and *juwari* cakes and tripe-broth, and their prayers are granted. His anniversary is performed on 27th Rajab.

Description of the various orders of the Sufis, such as are buried here or in the neighbouring villages, together with an account of those who tarried here for a time and then departed.

Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, the Elder.

Son of Hisam-ud-din, son of Abdul Malik, the pious. His forefathers lived in Jaunpur, and he was born at Burhanpur. At the age of seven his father entrusted him to the care of Shah Bajan Chishti, and died. Ali Muttaqi, when he grew up, took, service under the kings of Mandu and amassed wealth. But it pleased God that he soon gave up his worldly life, and taking the Darvish's robe from Shaikh Abul Hakim, son of Shah Bajan, went to Multan, where in the company of Shaikh Hisam-ud-din he lived a life of devotion, studying Baizawi's [1] Quranic commentary and the *Ain-ul-ilm*. After two years he went as a pilgrim to the holy sanctuaries, where he settled. He acquired Sufiistic knowledge from Shaikh Abul Hasan Bakri, and took the robe of the Kadiria, Shazalia, Madina, and Maghribia, orders from Shaikh Muhammad Sakhavi, and went to live in Mecca. He took Shaikh Jala-ud-din Suyuti's [2] work the *Jam'ul jumu'* which deals with traditions arranged alphabeti-

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[1] Nasir-ud-din Abdul Khair Abdullah-ibn-Umar was a native of Baiza, a village near Shiraz. He held the office of Qazi of Shiraz for a considerable time, and died at Tabriz in A.D. 1286 (686 A.H.). Others say that he died in 1292. He is the author of the well-known commentary on the *Quran* called انوار التنزيل و اسرار التاويل. A manual of history in Persian called نظام التواريخ is also attributed to him.

[2] He was born in 1445 A.D. in Egypt, a prolific writer whose pen travelled over an immense field of knowledge—*Quran*, traditions, law, philosophy, history, philology, and rhetoric. He died in 1505 A.D.

cally, and the claims of the Prophet's traditions as based on his sayings and orders, and arranged it in divisions, corresponding with the divisions of Muslim jurisprudence. Later, he made an epitome, but discarded it. Another book of his is the *Talquin-ut-tariq*—an inspired work—and also the *Majmu'a-i-hukm-i-kabir*—a valuable book which contains the various Sufi stages.

Shaikh ibn Hajar, then one of the most learned men of Mecca, was in the beginning the teacher of Ali Muttaqi, but in the course of time he was so much impressed by the piety and Sufiistic knowledge of his pupil that he became his disciple and received the succession from him. In his travels Ali Muttaqi would carry two bags, one full of provisions and utensils, and the other containing the *Quran*, some necessary books, and a water bag. He would prepare his own food, and would ask help from no man. In the reign of Sultan Bahadur he came to Ahmedabad, but refused to give audience to the Sultan, who desired to pay his respects to the sage. At last Qazi Abdullah of Sindh, who had halted at Ahmedabad on his way to Medina and was intimate with the sage, pleaded on behalf of the Sultan. "If the Sultan comes here," said the sage, "I shall have to find fault with his fashion of dress and other things." And it so happened that the Sultan appearing before the sage respectfully listened to his advice, and next day presented one crore of *tankas* [1] but the sage, instead of taking the money himself, gave it to Qazi Abdullah who had been the mediator. The sage followed the Prophet's mode of life, and he was venerated by the Sufis and the scholars of his time. He earned his daily bread by copying books and selling them. Sometimes he would borrow money from widows who lived by spinning, and then he would pay off his debt from money gained by lawful means. The following tale is told by him. "In many a desolate and dreary place have I seen gazelles gathered round a well piteously looking down at the water they could not reach, But once it so pleased God that the water gushed upwards to

[1] *Tanka*, or *tanka*, 'a coin the value of which appears to vary in different parts of India; in Hindustan it is said to be a copper coin equal to two *paisas* (Wilson's Glossary). Here in Gujarat, according to our author, one hundred *tankas* were worth one rupee.

quench the thirst of the poor creatures, and we too drank from it."

Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat, who was very careful of the purity of the water he drank and could not easily be satisfied, came to see the sage, who sent for a basin and a jug full of water, and, soaking his own cap three times in it, gave the water to the Sultan, saying, "Baba Mahmud, this water according to the Muslim law is clean, drink it therefore and let your doubts vanish; for they are the outcome of Satan's temptations." The Sultan drank and was cured of his foolish scruples. The sage was born in 885 A.H. and died at the age of ninety on 2nd Jumadi I, 975 A.H., and was buried in Medina, the holy city of the Prophet.

Shaikh Abd-ul-wahhab.

Son of Waliullah Qadri Hanafi of Mandu, disciple of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, and religious guide of Shaikh Abdul Haqq the famous traditionist of Delhi. His father was one of the nobles of Mandu, but owing to civil disturbances left the city and settled in Burhanpur. The Shaikh lost his parents in his boyhood, and passed his early life as a wandering Darvish, visiting Gujarat, the Deccan, and Ceylon. At the age of twenty he reached Mecca, where Ali Muttaqi, the sage, remembering his intimate relations with the father of the Shaikh, came to see him, and asked to be his companion. The Shaikh at first declined the kind offer, but being assured of the noble qualities of the sage waited on him and worked as his scribe, copying out and comparing his works. He laboured hard, and would copy a thousand verses at night, besides his day's work. He served the sage so well that he reached the mystic stage of being absorbed in his religious guide. For twelve years he remained in the service of the sage, and during his long stay in Mecca performed the routine of the Haj forty-four times. After the death of the sage, the Shaikh once came to Ahmedabad to bestow some favours on his family but soon returned to Mecca because of the enmity of the 'Madhavis,' who were his old enemies. That year only he could not perform the Haj. The people of Mecca, Medina, Yamen, Egypt, and Syria, all with one accord hold him a great saint.

Malik Muhammad Ikhtiyar.

One of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud Begada, who on his accession to the throne gave the title of 'Khan' to each of his chosen chiefs. But Malik Muhammad did not accept a title, for that he bore the name of the Prophet. But he received the royal *farman* and enjoyed the benefits of it. One day he was going to Mithapur in a palanquin. As the day was hot, he was resting under a tamarind tree, when he saw a Mulla teaching children in the corner of a mosque. The Malik, after a short nap, went to the mosque and offered his afternoon prayer with the Mulla, whose name was Kabir-ud-din, one of the grandsons of Shaikh Hamid-ud-din of Nagor. When they had finished their prayer the Mulla gazed at the Malik in such a manner that the latter felt a sort of secret attraction to him, and from that day he ever attended divine service in the mosque. One day the Mulla said to the Malik privately, "Why dost thou daily come here? If thou dost really desire to serve God, sever thy worldly connections and be a Darvish." The Malik answered "I shall think over this matter and then decide." And returning home he paid his debts, set free his slaves, and sent back to the Sultan all his goods. The Sultan, thinking that the Malik was angered, spoke lovingly and entreated him kindly. But the Malik answered "I have faithfully served Your Majesty so long, but now I am to serve Him Who crowneth earthly Kings." And he rose up and went to his house. The Sultan then sent for two chosen nobles named Darya Khan and Alf Khan, and told them of the sudden change in the life of Malik. They promised to bring him back, and, taking the Malik's documents from the Sultan, came to his house. The Malik, knowing their plan beforehand, asked them to wait outside for a time, and calling a barber got his head, beard, and eyebrows, shaved. He then called his wife, and spoke to her thus:—"Thou art free; take whatsoever thou hast and go to thy parents, or get thyself remarried to another man. Henceforth I leave the world." But his wife meekly answered, "If such be the rule for the life of a Darvish, I say nought; yet I am ready to follow thee wherever thou goest. Thou hast loved me in the passing world; wilt thou be so hard as to put me away in the world of eternal bliss?" "If thou wouldst

follow me," answered the Malik, "cast aside thy ornaments, and exchange thy dress with thine attendant." She did so, and the Malik, leading her out, passed by the two nobles at the door and went to the house of the Mulla. Recovering from their sudden amazement the nobles returned to the Sultan, and told him that the Malik had become mad. Now when the Malik with his wife reached the door of the Mulla's home he received a hearty welcome. "Treat the Malik's wife with due respect for they have relinquished the world like Ibrahim Adham" said the Mulla to his wife. And he began to teach Sufiistic knowledge to the Malik, who tried to subjugate his passions and purify his heart. Every morning he would fetch water from the river for the Mulla, and while passing by the market with the pitcher on his head was railed at by the people as an idiot. But after some time he was hailed as a saint, and thousands tried to kiss his feet when he came out. "Beware," said the Mulla to the Malik, "worldly honour is a stumbling block in the path of the Sufi." So the Malik changed his ways and began to ask for money from his admirers, and in secret gave it to the poor. And the people began to call him a greedy Faqir, and lost faith in him and left him alone. But he felt an inward pleasure and calm of mind, and he devoted himself to the higher Sufiism, and received the title of "Muhammad Ikhtiyar" from the Court of the King of Kings. It is said that one of the disciples of Saint Shah Alam began to wait on the Malik, and this displeased his colleagues, who thought he was losing faith in their own saint. The matter was reported to the Saint, who said:—

> Who here is helped by Fortune's star,
> Follows Muhammad Ikhtiyar.
> Who Heaven's blessing would not lose,
> Muhammad Ikhtiyar should chose.

One day Shaikh Alam met the Malik in the way, and asked him to bestow his robe upon him. "Only saints" answered the Malik, "bestow their robe." "But you are one of them," answered the Saint. And so the Malik gave him his cap, and the Saint gave the Malik his shirt. The Malik and Mulla Kabir-ud-din are both buried between Rajpur and Saraspur, near the cemetery of the Borahs.

Afzal Khan Bambani, the Martyr.

One of the *Vazirs* of Sultan Mahmud the martyr. Notwithstanding his high position and wealth he lived a life of piety and devotion. When he sat on his "cushion," a servant by his order would hold up a shroud and say :—" Afzal Khan, be not proud of thy present position. Death approaches, and thou shalt be wrapped in this shroud. Worldly honour and rank pass away. Beware of the last Day of Judgment."

And the *Vazir* would go about his business trembling with the fear of God. The wicked rebel Burhan, after killing Sultan Mahmud the second and his two *Vazirs* Asaf Khan and Khudawand Khan, called Afzal Khan to his presence, and tried to win him to his side. But the pious *Vazir* refused to join him, and was killed by the rebel on Thursday night 13th Rabi I 961 A.H. at Muhammadabad. He is buried outside the city, between the gates of Raipur and Sarangpur. He is venerated as a saint, and men visit his tomb. His brother Malik Zain-ud-din, disciple and successor of Miyan Qutb-ud-din Shahi and a Sufi of renown, is also buried hard by the *Vazir* on the eastern side.

The village of Afzalpur and a caravansarai were founded by the *Vazir*, and still belong to his descendants, but they are now in ruins. He also built a beautiful and stately mosque, but in the time of Momin Khan, son of Najm-ud-daula, when, the Marathas laid seige to the city, the people, fearing lest the invaders might use their mosque as an entrenchment and a base for their operations, filled it with fuel and set fire to it.

Thus a precious old relic was lost. Another mosque inside the rampart at Jamalpur, near the tomb of Sardar Khan, was also built by the *Vazir*.

Account of the four Ahmads and the twelve Babas who took part in the foundation ceremony of the city.

The four Ahmads have been written of. The twelve Babas are these :—

Baba Khuju, Baba Laru, and Baba Karamat :—These three are buried at Dholka.

Baba Ali Sher :—A mystic who wore no clothes ; but if Sain Ahmad Khattu came to see him, the Baba would say in Hindi "Bring me clothing, for the Tower of Islamic Law cometh." His anniversary is performed on 10th Jumadi I, and he is buried at Sarkhej.

Baba Mahmud also buried at Sarkhej suburb.

Baba Tawakkul, buried at Nasirabad. His anniversary is performed on 19th Muharram.

Baba Luluwi, known as Bapu Muhammud buried at Manjluri. Anniversary on 2nd Muharrum.

Baba Ahmad Hankori,[1] known as 'the farrier' because his anniversary on 19th Zu'l-Qa'da is performed by the farriers who work in the principal market near the old mosque. He received the robe from Saint Nizam-ud-din of Delhi.

Baba Ladha buried near Halim's window.

Baba Dhokal buried between the Delhi Gate and Shahpur. Anniversary on 9th Rajab.

Baba Sayyah, buried at Viramgam.

Baba Kamal Krimani, buried at Buhranpur near the one minaret mosque. Some exclude him from the list of twelve Babas and insert Baba Kamal Malvi's name.

Now all these Babas were either the direct disciples of Saint Nizam-ud-din of Delhi, or through the Saint's disciples, as in the case of Baba Luluwi, who was the disciple, of Hazrat-i-Nasir-ud-din 'the Lamp of Delhi,' the well known successor of the Saint. And it so happened that, when Shah Vilayat (who is buried at Dholka) the chosen successor of Saint Nizam-ud-din left Delhi for Gujarat, many of the above Babas followed him, and settled with him at Ahmedabad during the rule of Zafar Khan.

Baba Shaikh Kamal of Malwa.

He is buried behind the mosque of Khudawand Khan at Ilampur (Malik Ilam being a name of Khudawand Khan). The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*[2] writes of him as follows :—

Sultan Mahmud Khilji, the ruler of Malwa, had great faith

1 Other readings are Nagori and Bhakri.

2 *See* Bayley, p. 131, 137 et sec., where the tale is given at greater length.

in the Darvishes, to whom he used to offer rich presents, and in return he expected blessings from them. He coveted the kingdom of Gujarat, and hoped to conquer it through the blessing of the Darvishes. So he sent 500 gold *tankas* to Shaikh Kamal in advance, and promised to pay three crores of Gujarat *tankas*—the sum spent by the Sultans of Gujarat on the upkeep of Saint Ahmad Khattu's convent and shrine—if he would bless him for the conquest of Gujarat. But spies informed Sultan Muhammad, son of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, who ordered a search and confiscated the gold found in the covering of the Shaikh's *Quran*. The angered Shaikh cursed the Sultan, and sent word to Sultan Mahmud of Malwa to attack Gujarat. So Mahmud with eighty-thousand warriors marched thither; but before he came the nobles of Gujarat had dethroned Sultan Muhammad and crowned his son Sultan Qutb-ud-din. The new Sultan begged Hazrat-i-Qutb-i-Alam to pray for the retreat of the invader "God," said the Saint, "will put aside this evil, for it arose from the old Sultan's disregard of Darvishes." The Saint then sent his son Hazrat-i-Shah Alam to Shaikh Kamal with a message saying, "Of a truth the old Sultan was blameworthy. But the son should not be visited with the sins of the father. God saith in the *Quran* 'one man beareth not the load of another.' Persuade, therefore, the invader, and tell him to make peace and to return to his capital." But the Shaikh was loth to interfere, and sent back the messenger. Thrice was he asked to intercede, but he refused, and at the last thus he spoke in anger. "For seven years have I prayed for Sultan Mahmud, who honours the Darvishes. How can I now send him back and help him whose father evilly entreated the Darvishes and oppressed me? Go back to thy father, Seyyid Burhan-ud-din, and greet him and say, "The arrow is shot, naught can now be done." Shah Alam smiled, and quoted this verse of Rumi.[1]

> "God hath so blessed the favoured in his sight,
> That they can stay the arrow in its flight"

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[1] From the Masnavi of Jalal-ud-din Rumi—a very famous Persian mystical poet. The Masnavi has been described as the '*Quran* in Pehlavi.' Rumi born in 1207 A.D., died in 1273. *See* Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 515.

Angered by the ready answer the Shaikh replied, "Is this the sport of children? Behold the Divine Tablet and read the name of Sultan Mahmud Khilji recorded in the place of the Tank [1] Sultans." And he raised his hand took a roll of paper from the invisible world, and gave it to Shah Alam, saying "This is the warrant for the Government of Gujarat in the name of Mahmud Khilji. There is no need to stress the matter. Go back and tell thy father how it is." The blood of the Prophet that ran in Shah Alam's veins was moved to anger by this reply, and he took the paper and tore it in pieces and said "Fate made without the permission of Hazrat-i-Qutb-ul-Alam is not approved." Then the Shaikh lost his senses, and saying, "The Seyyid's son hath prevailed," committed his soul to God. Now this happened in the year 855 A.H. And when this was told to Hazrat-i-Qutb-ul-Alam, he said, "Verily my son was in haste; there was need of greater patience." And the doings of Sultan Mahmud Khilji are written at length in Sikandar's history. And God knoweth the secret things.

Shaikh Kamal Kirmani.

It is said that one day Saint Qutb-i-Alam went to pay a visit to Baba Kamal of Kirman. Seeing a rosary of black beads in the hand of the Saint, the Baba pointed out that it was unlucky and led to poverty. "What sayest thou of one who had adopted a life of poverty of his own free will?" answered the Saint. "I crave pardon, O descendant of the Prophet, I dare say nothing of voluntary poverty such as is thy noble inheritance." The Saint left his rosary, and the Baba placed by his side his own rosary of coral beads. Therefrom two fresh rosaries were strung of black and red beads equally, and these were used by the Saint and the Baba. The Baba is buried at Bahrampur. He was the disciple of Seyyid N'imatullah Wali, who was the successor of Shaikh Abdullah Yafa'i of Mecca.

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[1] *Vide* Bayley, p. 67. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* says that Tank is the name of the Hindu caste to which the family of the Gujarat Sultans originally belonged. It means outcaste—that is to say, an outcasted branch of the Khatris.

Shaikh Siraj.

An account of him is given by Seyyid Ja'far Badr Alam in his work entitled the *Hundred tales of Kings* or the *Manaqib-i-hazrat-shahia.*[1]

Anecdote 64:—Shaikh Siraj was the disciple of Hazrat-Qutb-i-Alam, and he acquired Sufiistic knowledge from Shaikh Ail Khatib, who was the successor of Qutb-i-Alam. But he concealed his Sufiism under the garb of a practising physician. Once Shah Alam said to him in the presence of Sultan Mahmud Begada, " A time will come when the Sultan will stand in need of inward cure. Then wilt thou have to treat him ; Remember." And it so happened that a servant of the Sultan fell ill, and was cured by Shaikh Siraj, who said to him, " When next thou dost wait on the Sultan tell him to remember the Saint's remark about the cure of his mind. I am ready to help him, but not openly. Let me be enlisted as a royal physician, and let him call me in secret, if ever he would get his soul cured." And the Sultan called him, and gave secret audience to him, and placing his head on the Shaikh's feet told him what was in his heart, and wept bitterly. " Let me know the nature of this love towards God," asked the Shaikh. " If " answered the Sultan, " I am asked to beg from door to door in my own kingdom and the people in the market-place cast stones at me, I shall be happy with only one-tenth of what you godly men have bestowed on me. For I hold my kingdom—nay the kingdom of the whole world—of such little worth." " Thank God " answered the Shaikh " thy love is true. There is no need to leave the world as a Darvish." Then he taught Sufiism to the Sultan, and healed his soul. His anniversary is performed on the 6th Rabi I, and he is buried at Manjhari. This story about Sultan Mahmud is also given in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* with some modifications.

Shaikh Pir.

Shaikh Pir, who is buried at Ahmadpur outside the rampart wall of the city, was disciple and successor of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. The following account is quoted from a pamphlet written

1 *Shahia i.e.,* Shah Alam and his descendants.

by Shaikh Fathullah of Kashmir, one of the disciples of Shaikh Pir.

Shaikh Pir was the son of Shaikh Jalal Chishti of Champaner. He travelled far and wide, and after performing the Mecca pilgrimage visited the Prophet's tomb at Medina. After these journeys he became a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. His father and grandfather gave him the following advice :—" My son be a constant reader of the *Quran*, and keep thy body clean by bathing or *tayamum*.[1] It is the reading of the *Quran* which hath blessed our ancestors." " Perform daily orisons as I have taught thee " was the advice given by Shaikh Shahab-ud-din Suhravardi. Shaikh Pir came to this city in the company of his religious guide Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, and settled here, and married and died here, leaving God-fearing children, one of whom was Shaikh Saifullah.

Maulana Sadr-i-Jahan.

He is buried at Nurganj. It is said that Miyan Makhdum used to take lessons from the Maulana Sadr-i-Jahan, who was one of the foremost scholars and most pious man of his time. Now Miyan Makhdum was the disciple of Shah Alam, who was hated by Maulana Sadr-i-Jahan. When Miyan Makhdum came to take his lessons the Maulana would talk slightingly about the Saint, but Makhdum quietly listened to it, resolving not to attend his lectures again. But when he turned back to Shah Alam, the Saint would smile, and thus speak : " Makhdum, thou hast been to the Maulana for thy lessons. It is well. Cease not to go ; it is for thy good, for the Maulana is a great scholar." And time passed, till one day Makhdum as he hearkened to the slander fell aweeping. " Why dost thou weep ? " asked the Maulana. " My tears are for thy sake," answered Makhdum. " For me," inquired the Maulana, " it is passing strange." " Yes, for thy sake," replied Makhdum with emotion. " Thou dost revile a noble and a virtuous descendant of our Holy Prophet. It is a pity that thou dost not wait on him, what time the city is honoured by his saintly presence." The Maulana pondered for some time ; then spoke thus :—" I shall go to him if he fulfils four conditions :—

[1] When water is not available Muslims before they offer prayers apply dust to their faces and arms. This mode of purification is called *Tayammum.*

(1) They say he puts on silk raiment: let him during my visit wear such clothes as were worn by the Prophet.

(2) Also it is said that he sits on gold embroidered carpets; let them be removed.

(3) Let him talk with me on some subject.

(4) They say that he gives money to his visitors when they depart. But as the source of his income is not known, perchance the Jins, robbing the people, fill his coffers. I may not accept such unholy gifts."

"It shall be done as thou dost wish" answered Makhdum. And he asked the Maulana to set forth, quoting the proverb, "Good work should not be postponed." "Go to him first, and let him know my conditions," said the Maulana. "God has already told him; there is no need for me to go" answered Makhdum. "It seems thou hast great faith in him." So saying the Maulana quietly followed him.

They came to the Saint's home at Rasulabad. The Maulana desired to send Makhdum to announce his arrival, but he refused saying, "It will be in thy mind that I have informed him of thy conditions." So the porter was sent, and they were led to the hall of audience, where to the wonder of the Maulana the carpet was found to be one made from the leaves of the date palm. "One" said Makhdum to the Maulana, gazing at him with meaning. Soon the Saint was seen approaching wearing a blanket and a blanket cap. "Two," whispered Makhdum to the Maulana. The Saint gave a hearty welcome to the Maulana, and they sat them down and began to speak. "What sayest thou about the angels seeing their Lord God" asked the Saint. "No" replied the Maulana. "But," said the saint, "in the *Quran*[1] God says: 'Whoso expected to meet his Lord, he should do good works, and serve none save his Lord.' Now this is a general proposition; why then should the angels be excluded?" "Because," answered the Maulana, "the angels being of finer stuff than men are not fit to receive the Divine light. But men being of earthly mould are opaque and can retain the rays of His effulgent glory." "He who has created man fit to see God, notwithstanding his

[1] *Quran*, Ch. XVIII (The Cave), last verse.

earthly mould, can also make etherial beings fit for it." "We follow tradition," answered the Maulana, "and the early fathers of our faith are silent in this matter, save some who make Gabriel an exception, for that he appeared before the Prophets in human shape."

"There are traditions," replied the Saint. "Thus Imam Fakhr-ud-din in his treatise on seeing God writes : 'The angels Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Izrael, and the Seraphim who hold God's throne, and all other angels, shall see God.' And saying this the Saint sent for the manuscript and showed it to the Maulana, who confessed that he knew it not.

The Saint then opened another matter and said "God in the *Quran* [1] says :—'And if Allah should amplify the provision for His servants they would surely revolt on the earth.' Yet we find that Solomon, Joseph, and Zu'l Qarnain, had ample provision ; yet did they not revolt, but lived a life of devotion and righteousness. How dost thou then interpret the Quranic verse ?" The Maulana gave an explanation. But the Saint said, "This is what a particular commentator says, but he has been criticised." The Maulana then gave another explanation ; which too was refuted. So they proceeded with critical remarks on the authorities cited. At last after the tenth explanation had been refuted the Maulana confessed that he could not say, and asked the Saint to give his own interpretation.

"Listen then," said the Saint. "In Arabic books it is laid down that, when action is referred to a definite actor, it must be such as suits that actor. Thus 'Bana al amiru'l madinata' (The Amir built the city). Here 'built' must mean 'built a *fine* city,' worthy of the rank of an Amir. So, when Almighty God doth not say 'I,' 'we,' or 'he' 'give abundance,' but 'God gives abundance,' it must mean an abundance worthy of the Almighty that would bring about revolt. But no such abundance has ever yet existed—if he gave to a mortal not only thousands of worlds but millions, it would still be nothing compared with His power to give. Hence there is no scope for revolt, and the general proposition of the verse holds good." The Maulana was

[1] *Quran*, Ch. XLIII.

pleased to hear the interpretation, and exclaimed in wonder, "Verily thy knowledge is inspiration." "Spoil not my labour by thy unfounded remarks." Saying this the Saint turned up his sleeves and pointed to his elbows bound with cotton, because he ever rested them on the floor while deep in his studies. Filled with reverence the Maulana kissed the Saint's elbows, and departed. On crossing the threshold he felt the weight of some money tied to his skirt. "This may not be," said the Maulana to Miyan Makhdum. "Show not dishonour to the Saint, nor refuse his gift," answered Makhdum. But the Maulana refused to take such gifts. "Stay; let me report the business to the Saint," said Makhdum. So, the Maulana sat down, and soon Makhdum returned and delivered the Saint's reply, thus :—

"The Maulana is Chief Qazi of the city; let him judge himself. It was not I who gave this money to him nor any of my servants; but my Lord God, He who fills the mines with precious stones, He has put this money in the skirt of the Maulana. Should I, then, take it, or he? I will take it, if the Maulana giveth it to me."

"Verily, thy preceptor is a great scholar, and a devout Sufi, one who followeth the Law and the Way" answered the Maulana. And he took the money and returned to his house. Thereafter he paid many visits to the Saint, and received blessings from him.

Well saith the poet :—

In the street of the fair would I shake the dust
From my piety's robe in disdain.
Could I ever foresee that one day that earth
Would be salve for my eyelids in pain?

Maulana Imad-ud-din Tarumi.

His name was Muhammad. His father, who was a merchant of Tarum near Shiraz, came to India with a pavilion of embroidered silk with trimmings of gold and hangings of precious pearls. But as the King of Delhi was not minded to buy such a pavilion, the merchant being disappointed came to Ahmedabad and waited on Shah Alam, who paid him nine lacs in Persian coin from his own purse and ordered that the pavilion be given as plunder to the poor. The merchant receiving so large a price was pleased

and begged the Saint to bless him with a son; for he had no heir. And the Saint blessed him saying "God will give thee a son, who will be a pillar of the faith; let him be called after my name Muhammad."

The merchant returned to Shiraz, and was blessed with a son whom he named Muhammad Imad-ud-din. When the boy grew up and was taught he heard the story of his birth. And he went towards Gujarat to pay his homage to the Saint. Arriving at Ahmedabad he became the disciple of Malik Qutb-ud-din one of the chosen successors of the Saint, and settled here passing his time in teaching. His anniversary is performed on 2nd Jumadi I. Miyan Wajih-ud-din, that famous divine, was one of his chosen pupils.

Maulana Ahmad, son of Sulaiman.

He was a Kurd. His father Maulana Sulaiman came to Ahmedabad and, having studied with Shaikh Abdul Haqq of Delhi, wrote some books. Ahmad was an accomplished scholar, well versed in the sciences and traditions. It was through him that science study spread in this country. He was the author of many important works, one of these was a treatise entitled *Fuyuz-ul-Quds* on scholastic Theology, which is considered an inspired writing. He learned metaphysics and the traditions from Maulana Wali Muhammad; mysticism from Shaikh Farid, mathematics from Shah Qubad (better known as Diyanat Khan) and the sayings of the Prophet from his father. He died on the afternoon of Monday the 21st Jumadi II. His disciple Maulana Shaikh Nur-ud-din wrote the chronogram *Sham'e ki bud z'anjuman-i-ilm gul shudan*[1] which corresponds to 1102 A.H. This tomb, as well as that of his father, is behind the Mosque of Musa Sohag.

Miyan Khub Muhammad Chishti.

He was a Darvish and a Sufi poet. He has written notes on the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* and composed poetical works named *Khub tarang* and *Amwaj-i-Khubi!* He died in 1023 A.H. and is buried at Ahmedabad in the square near the mosque of Farhat-

1 The candle which was burning in the assembly of knowledge is put out.

گل شدن (*gul shudan*) seems to be an Indian idiom with the meaning it here bears—the putting out of a lamp. This meaning is given by the *Chiragh-i-hidayat-*

ul-mulk. The following chronogram was recorded in his death: *Khub the.*[1]

Seyyid Taj-ud-din.

Successor of Seyyid Jalal Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan. Buried within the city near Muhammad Beg Khan's Haveli at Mirzapur. His anniversary is performed on the 2nd Shavval.

Shah Mahbub Majzub.

Buried outside the Kalupur gate. Anniversary on 18th Sha'ban.

Miyan Khan Man Shah.

Buried at Ahmedabad. Anniversary on 14th Jumadi II.

Seyyid Abdul Latif Rasuldar.

His tomb is on the Sarkhej tank. Anniversary on 29th Jumadi I.

Seyyid Abdul Karim, the Camel rider.

Buried outside the Astodiya gate. Anniversary on 3rd Rajab.

Haji Jamal.

Buried at Burhanpur. Anniversary on 26th Rajab.

Shaikh Isa.

Buried at Raipur. Anniversary on 12th Sha'ban.

The Martyrs' mausoleum near Asawal. Anniversary on 26th Rajab.

Pir-i-ghaib.

Buried near the Martyrs' mausoleum. Anniversary on 19th Rajab.

Gauhar Shahid.[2]

Buried near Kankaria tank.

Salar Shahid.

Buried near Kantoria tank. Anniversary on 16th Rajab.

Miran Shah Sa'id Shahid.

Buried at Isanpur. Anniversary on 25th Rajab.

[1] 'They were good'—1023 A.H.   [2] شهيد *Shahid*, a Martyr.

Bala Pir.

Buried inside the city between the Astodiya and Rajpur gates, below the rampart. Anniversary on 14th Rajab.

Seyyid Pir Muhammad.

He came to this land from foreign parts, and took up his abode in the Jami Mosque, where he remained till his death. He belonged to the Qadiria order, and was the successor of Miyan Wajih-ud-din. He was a recluse and seldom went out. He taught privately and made some disciples. He was an enthusiast among the Sufis, and during his trances gave utterances to ravings, such as "I am Pir Muhammad, the very God." It is difficult to explain such blasphemies; it may be that he repented thereafter. Many of the Bohras believed in him and became his disciples. But it so happened that one Zain-ul-Arifin, son of Akhond Abdul Aziz, began to make disciples from amongst the Bohra community. So Seyyid Pir Muhammad was angered, and some of his disciples being encouraged by him caught hold of Zain-ul-Arifin, and made him promise, by threats of severe punishment, to abstain from further conversions among the Bohras. When the news of this wrong reached Jawanmard Khan Babi, he was angry and sent his men saying "Go and drag the Seyyid out from his house. Let him take his seat in the Bhadar; he has become Governor of this place." But his brother, Anwar Khan, a disciple of the Seyyid, pleaded on behalf of his Pir, and the matter was hushed up. The Seyyid, however, hearing of the intended insult to him was excited, so that he fell ill and in three days died on the 27th Jumadi II, 1163 A.H. He is buried within the city near Salah-ud-din Khan's Haveli. His disciples built a mosque and a garden by the side of his tomb.

Shaikh Ali Riza Sarhindi.

He came to this land from Sarhind. He belonged to the Naqshbandia Order and received succession to the Chishti Order from Shaikh Yahya Chishti. He fell into ecstasy in the seances of the Sufis and would shed tears, waking at times for the whole night and praying. He was at the same time a rich man, and many of the Lords of the Deccan, who came here in the company

of Firoz Jang, became his disciples. He died on 21st Zu'l-Qa'da 1142 A.H. and is buried near Jawahirpura. His eldest son Muhammad Shah, who was a scholar and a caligraphist, raised a dome over his grave. The villages of Kochrab, Saundhel, Rahnas, under the jurisdiction of Ahmedabad Haveli, were bestowed on his children for their maintenance.

Seyyid Muhammad Ali.

He was a great divine, and was born at Ahmedabad. He led the life of a recluse from his youth, taking up his abode in the mosque built by Afzal Khan Bambani, the *Vazir* of Sultan Mahmud II of Gujarat. He passed his time in contemplation and devotion, and thrice he made pilgrimage to Mecca, visiting at the time the tomb of the Prophet in Medina. He died on Sunday night, 7th Safar, 1154 A.H., and is buried in the compound of the Mosque. Mir Hisam-ud-din, who writes as 'Ummi' has composed the following chronogram :—

A surging ocean of the Truth,
A noble teacher wise,
Guide to the men who firmly tread
The path that upward lies.

Bright as a lamp, or as the flame
Our sacred Prophet saw,
A glory of the Prophet's Faith,
A pattern of the Law.

The Prophet's name affixed to that
Of Murtaza's exclaim,
Thy ruby lips will then pronounce
The holy Seyyid's name.

He left this transient fleeting world,
And entered into light,
The seventh of Safar's month it was
On Sunday at midnight.

And Ummi asked the Angel when
He gained eternal peace,

Five times Muhammad Ali gives [1]
The year of his release.

Ibrahim Shahid.

He is buried near Nainpur Bara. Anniversary on 26th Rajab.

Shah Abbas.

Buried at Manjhuri. He was a Rizvi Seyyid of Mashhad and author of some Sufiistic works. In the year 1020 A.H. he went on pilgrimage to Mecca by way of Gujarat, and, after staying in Arabia for five years, returned and settled in Ahmedabad, and died in 1026 A.H. He built a stone mosque at Manjhuri where it is still standing, though in need of repair. His anniversary is on the 7th Rabi I.

An account of the Saints [2] who settled and died in the towns and villages of the Province of Ahmedabad.

Pattan :—

Seyyid Muhammad Brahman.

It is recorded in the *Manazil-ul-auliya* which deals with the saints of Pattan, that in the fortieth year of the reign of Raja Siddhraj Jaisingh,[3] Seyyid Muhammad, disguised as a Brahman, entered the service of the Raja as a cook. After serving for twenty years his secret was revealed to the Raja who was angered and threw him into a fiery furnace. Straightway the Seyyid gave up the ghost, and a heap of roses was found in place of his body. The Raja commanded that the flowers should be collected in a sheet and buried by the tank named Sahasra Ling.

1 پنج کرت یا محمد یا علي در دل بیار (224 x 5) + 34 = 1154.

2 A striking omission is Seyyid Ali known as Miran Datar, whose tomb at Unawa Mehsana is visited by many thousands of pilgrims. His grandfather Seyyid Ilm-ud-din came from Unchh and settled at Ahmedabad in 830 A.H. Seyyid Ali's father was Dosan Miyan who married into the family of Sham'-i-Burhani and settled at Unawa in 867 A.H.

3 From whom the modern town of Siddhpur takes it name. He also made the Sahasra Ling tank at Pattan. He died childless 1143 A.D.

Baba Haji Rajab.

In the reign[1] of Raja Siddhraj Jaisingh Shaikh Muhammad Baba Haji, who was the successor of Sultân Seyyid Ahmad Kabir Rifa'i came from Rum to Pattan. The chronogram of his arrival here is "*Aftab-i-Islam*[2]" which equals to 616 A.H. He died on 12th Rajab 670 A.H., which date is found from "*Kufr Shikan*,[3]" and his grave is here.

Shaikh Ahmad of Delhi, better known as Baba Dehliya

Successor of Shaikh Muhiy-ud-din of Delhi. Came to Pattan (Nahrwala) in 533 A.H., as is deduced from "*Ronaq-i-Islam*"[4]= 533 A.H. He remained here for 22 years, worshipping God, and he died in 555 A.H., as is found from "*Nur-i-Kibriya Allah*"[5]= 555 A.H.

It is said that Raja Siddhraj Jaisingh, who had learnt of Islam from Seyyid Muhammad Brahman[6] became an apostate afterwards. Others say that Baba Rajab taught the creed to the Raja, who disappeared after his conversion. But some say that he was killed by Baba Rajab. But the Hindus on the authority of certain *yogis* believe him to be still living. The truth about this is unknown; but this at least is certain that he is no more seen by men.

Haji Hud

Son of Abu Saleh Abdallah; came to Nahrwala during the reign of Raja Karan. The date of his arrival is deduced from [7] '*Yaluh-us-shams*=485 A.H., and of his death from '*Ishqullah*[8] =536 A.H. He was a descendant of Harith, son of Naufil, and the cousin of Faqih Abu Laith of Samarqand.

Shaikh Ahmad Arafati.

He came from Mecca in the reign of Raja Siddhraj Jaisingh in 561 A.H. His home was Taif (in Hejaz), he passed his time

[1] The M. S. Edition gives 'In the 75th year of the reign of Raja Siddhraj.'
[2] The 'Sun of Islam.'
[3] Destroyer of heathenism.
[4] Islam's splendour came.
[5] 'The light of Almighty God.'
[6] It is not clear how far Siddhraj was inclined towards Islam.
[7] 'The Sun shone.'
[8] 'The Love of God.'

in devotion on Mount Arafat, and hence is known as Arafati. He was a follower of Shafa'i, and was descended from Sadiq, son of Abbas. He died in 645 A.H.

Shaikh Mu'iz-ud-din Sulaiman Shahid.

He came to Pattan from Delhi in the company of Sultan Ala-ud-din who was the first Muslim ruler who conquered Gujarat. The Shaikh died as a martyr; and this is how it came to pass.

One night Sultan Ala-ud-din saw the Prophet Muhammad in a dream, and was ordered to fight with Raja Karan of Nahrwala who was putting Muslims to death. Next night he saw the Prophet again, and Hazrat-i-Ali, the former exhorting him to invade Gujarat and the latter placing a sword in his hand and pushing him forward. When the Sultan awoke he saw the sword in his hand. So he rose up, offered his morning prayers, and prepared for the expedition to Gujarat. In those days Shaikh Muiz-ud-din, the grandson and successor of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Shakarganj, had come to Delhi to pay a visit to Khwaja Qutb-ud-din. The Sultan, being a disciple of the Shaikh's father, came to bid farewell to him, and told him his dreams. "I also have been commanded by the Prophet to follow thee and have been promised martyrdom," said the Shaikh smiling. The Sultan was pleased to hear this, and taking the Shaikh with him marched towards Gujarat, and in forty-one days he entered Nahrwala. The first battle was fought at Pura Anawara, which was founded by Mulraj Solanki. Three thousand Rajputs were slain in the battle, and the victorious Sultan with his army took up a position in the Pura, and the Shaikh who was accompanied by his family took possession of Vaghela grove. For twenty days the battle raged fiercely. At last the Muslim army was repulsed and began to flee but the Sultan rallied his devoted soldiers and rushed to the field, fighting desperately. Hearing of the Sultan's plight, the Shaikh, nominating his son Shaikh Fuzail his successor and entrusting his robe and his family to his care, rode on to the battlefield. Greeting the Sultan he boldly faced his enemies and caused havoc in their ranks. He killed thirty-three infidels, took Raja Karan's son captive and handed him over to his son Fuzail. He was then

surrounded, and received fifteen arrow wounds and three sword cuts, and fell to the ground and died. Meanwhile the captive prince seeing his father Karan from a distance begged of Fuzail to take him to him, saying he would receive a great sum for this. Fuzail made as if to lead him to his father. Then of a sudden he fell on Karan and brought back both father and son prisoners before the Sultan. Karan was beheaded, but the prince (as some say) was spared and given over to Fuzail. The old fort was destroyed, and great booty fell into the hands of the Muslims. The Sultan lost 1,130 footmen and 953 horsemen, besides Shaikh Mu'iz-ud-din. On the side of the enemy 7,985 soldiers were killed. This victory was gained on the 12th Muharram 714 A.H. Two days after the martyred soldiers were buried together, but the Shaikh was buried alone. The date of his martyrdom is given by the words

"*Qudvat-ul-asfiya.*"[1]

The Sultan then marched against Broach leaving Khan Azam Sarvarkhan Ghori as Governor of Pattan. Khan Azam built a tank[2] at Pattan, and named it the Khan Sarovar. Sultan Ala-ud-din sent for Shaikh Fuzail from Pattan, and took him with him to Delhi.

Maulana Ya'qub.[3]

Son of Seyyid Abul Hasan Ahmad who was the grandson of Seyyid Murtaza Alam-ul-huda. He came from Tatta in the com-

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1 The Pattern of the Pure his gi Tves 723, which does not agree with the date given above, nor with the date (694 A.H.) given by the author in the beginning of his history.

2 The largest still in use in Pattan. It is nearly square in shape (1,228 × 1,273 feet): *Baroda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 587. The Gazetteer goes on to say that the tank may have been originally made by one of the Solanki kings, but that it was completely renovated by Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka, the foster brother of Akbar, who was twice Governor of Gujarat. He constructed the tank during his second period (1587—1594 A.D.). This is quite a different story from that given by our author.

3 See Bayley, p. 39. Our author seems to have fallen into error here. In the beginning of his history he says that Ulugh Khan, who was known in Gujarat as Alf Khan, was an early Governor of Gujarat under Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji and built the Adina or Friday mosque. The passage has been translated in the *Baroda Gazetteer* (Desai and Clarke), Vol. II, page 579. The date given for the mosque is too early by at least forty years. There seem to have been two Alf Khans; the first

pany of Alfkhan Sanjar and settled in Nahswala. He was a famous scholar, a renowned Sufi, and a great author. In his person he was a second Joseph, and in saintliness true heir of Ali the Commander of the Faithful. In Muslim theology, he followed Shafa'i.

In the reign of Hardamul Vaghela, the Sultan despatched Alf Khan with seven thousand cavalry and infantry towards Nahrwala. The seige lasted for five years and eleven months. During this period Alf Khan began to build a stone mosque, opposite the citadel, but hearing of the Sultan's death he left it unfinished, and accepting a large sum from the Raja, went back to his country. But the Maulana stayed and was wont to teach in that mosque, for Alf Khan had given him 10,000 *tankas* when he departed. The following verses in praise of the mosque, giving the date of its construction, were composed by a certain poet.[1]

He built a splendid mosque herein
No country boasts such towers and walls.
But Mecca's fane that Abraham made
Was pattern for these Pattan halls.

He built it ; he was king supreme ;
And at his word the building rose.
The heavens revolve around to spy
The noble structure as it grows.
No man's work this—so men relate—
A 'guide,' 'a House of God most great.'

A glorious mosque, a mosque indeed,
Adornment to the Prophet's creed.
And Alf Khan Sanjar Sultan cries,
"In Islam's year six fifty-five
(The month Zu'l-Qa'da) did arise
A mosque to keep the Faith alive."

Ulugh Khan was the King's brother. Nahrwala was handed over to him on its capture in 700 A.H., and he died soon after. It was Alf Khan the King's brother-in-law who was Nazim of Gujarat for many years after this.

[1] Bait-i-Akbar (The House of the Great One)=635
Hadi (Guide)— = 20
655 A.H.

Makhdum Alam.

A descendant of Maulana Yaqub of Nahrwala. In his family tree the Imam Musa Qazim[1] is shown to be his ancestor in the fifteenth degree.

It is said that Zafar Khan, who was sent by Sultan Firoz Shah to punish Nizam Mufarrih, better known as Rasti Khan, offered prayers in the great mosque at Pattan, after he had driven out Rasti Khan, who fled towards Cambay. He then paid a visit to Makhdum Alam, who presented Saint Mukhdum-i-Jahanian's dagger to him and blessed him, saying that Rasti Khan would perish by that dagger, and Zafar Khan would one day be Sultan of Gujarat. Next day when the Makhdum paid his return visit to Zafar Khan he told the Khan how that great mosque[2] had been built by Alf Khan Sanjar and how Saint Makhdum-i-Jahanian had prayed for two days in the mosque. Hearing this the Khan took the Makhdum with him and secluded himself for ten days on the spot where Saint Jahanian had prayed. He then ordered that a dome be built in the courtyard and turrets on the wall of the mosque.

And regarding this matter a poet has said :—

At Makhdum's wish the king, Muzaffar Shah,
To Pattan came from regions of the North.
And Makhdum blessed him. He in solitude
Within the mosque abode, and came not forth.

The columns of the holy edifice
Were thousands five and hundreds five and five
And King Muzaffar when he saw their rows
Added a dome that men still see survive.

[1] Musa-al-Qazim is the seventh Shia Imam. He was the second son of the Sixth Imam Ja'far, and was chosen as heir by his father because the elder son Ismail had, as was said, done wrong. Musa was poisoned by Harun-ar-rashid's *Vazir* Ibn Khalid in 148 A.H. The sect of the Ismailians follow Ismail, and end their list of Imams with him, holding that his father had no right to transfer the divinely ordained succession at will. To this sect belong the Bombay Khojas.

[2] This is the Mosque just mentioned. It no longer exists, but it was still standing in our author's time. See *Baroda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 584 and elsewhere.

Seven hundred years and ninety-five, 'tis said,
Since Islam's Prophet to Medina fled.

Shaikh Hisam-ud-din-Usman.

Son of Daud Faruqi of Multan, and disciple and chosen successor of Saint Nizam-ud-din of Delhi. He came to Pattan in 695 A.H., and after living there for forty-one years died in 736 at the age of ninety-seven.

Seyyid Husain "Khing Suwar."[1]

Son of Seyyid Umar Arizi of Ghayaspur. He was successor of Saint Nizam-ud-din and is the guardian saint of Dabhoi. In the year 730 A.H. in compliance with Saint Nizam-ud-din's order he came to Pattan, where he died on the 1st Jumadi II 798 A.H. at the age of one hundred and thirty-five. He is buried near the Sahasra Ling tank.

Shaikh Jamal-ud-din.

Disciple of Makhdum-i-Jahanian, and nephew of Shaikh Hisam-ud-din Usman. In the year 737 A.H. he came to Pattan, and lived in the house of his aunt Bibi Amina. He died on 9th Rajab, 745 A.H.

Shaikh Sadr-ud-din.

Son of Shaikh Umar Faruqi of Multan who, leaving his native place, came to Nagor and preached Islam; he married the daughter of the Raja of Nagor and settled in Thatha (near Nagor). Makhdum Hisam-ud-din hearing of this called his sister Amina, the mother of Sadr-ud-in, and gave them quarters in Pattan where their descendants are still to be found. Shaikh Abdul Latif, the successor and adopted son of Saint Qutb-i-Alam, was the grandson of Shaikh Sadr-ud-din.

Shaikh Abdul Latif was a disciple of Sultan-ul-mashaikh, and was the leading Sufi of his time. His descendants are still to be found in Ankleshwar near Broach.

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[1] "*Khing Suwar,*" 'Rider of the grey steed.' The family of this Seyyid still hold villages in the Kadi Prant of the Baroda State and is known as the Tope walas—cap wearers.

Khwaja Rukn-ud-din "Kan-i-Shakar."

Descendant of Saint Farid-ud-din "Shakar Ganj," and successor of Shaikh Zahid Chishti. He was an accomplished scholar, and Sultan Ahmad, the founder of Ahmedabad, became his disciple. He died on 22nd Shavval 842 A.H.

Maulana Taj-ud-din Yaqub.

Disciple and successor of Qazi Zain-ud-din Chishti of Daulatabad. He was a scholar and a Sufi. Miracles are attributed to him. He received the blessing in the company of Shaikh Rajab. He died on the 13th Jumadi II 990 A.H.

Seyyid Muhammad, better known as Seyyid Khuda Baksh.

Disciple of Seyyid Raju "Qattal," and successor of Saint Qutb-i-Alam. He came from [1] Uchh to Pattan in the company of Bibi Saadat Khatun, mother of Saint Qutb-i-Alam. He learnt from his father and *Pir* and became a renowned theologian and traditionist. He belonged to the Chishti order. He died on Monday the 5th Jumadi II 847 A.H.

Seyyid Ahmad, entitled Makhdum Jahan Shah.

He came from Manekpur to Uchh after the death of his mother, and became disciple of Seyyid Raju Qattal. Some time passed and he set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca by way of Gujarat, and handed over to Saint Qutb-i-Alam at Pattan the sacred relic of the Prophet's blanket which Seyyid Raju had given him. The piece of blanket is still in the possession of Shaikh Nur-ud-din Muhammad, a descendant of the Saint, and can be seen in Ahmedabad even to this day, in the Hijri year 1174. Seyyid Ahmad lived with his uncle Seyyid Khuda Bakhsh, and was married to the daughter of Makhdum Alam Ismail, who was bidden by the Prophet in a dream to give his daughter to the Seyyid. Ahmad lived with his wife for five months, and then set forth on his pilgrimage to Mecca, where he remained for twelve years; visiting Medina and Jerusalem. The Prophet then appeared to him in a dream, and said to him "My son, return to Nahrwala; whoso looketh at thee, God will forgive his sins; whoso

[1] Uchh, near Multan.

visiteth thy tomb shall have redemption on the Day of Resurrection; whoso payeth visits to thee, his place shall be Paradise."

Seyyid Ahmad was much respected by Saint Qutb-i-Alam and by his son Saint Shah Alam, who, being asked the reason, told of a dream in which he had seen Ahmad sleeping in the Prophet's bosom, who called him his beloved son. Seyyid Ahmad was born in 789 A.H., and died on the 9th Zu'l-hijja 899 A.H. at the age of one hundred and ten.

The sentence *Waris-i-Imam Ali*[1] gives the date of his birth, age, and death, in the following manner :—

Waris-i-Imam	789 A.H.	date of his birth.
Ali	110	his age,
Waris-i-Imam Ali	899	his death.

Majd-ud-din Maulana Tahir, better known as the Bohra.

He lived in Pattan. God gave him knowledge and excellence. He went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he met many scholars of that land. He became a disciple of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, and, on his return from Arabia, preached among the Bohras, and doing away with certain heresies separated the Sunnis and the Shias of that community. He is the author of several works on the traditions; among them one called the *Majma'-ul-bahar* which contains explanatory notes on all the six[2] "correct books." Another concise and useful pamphlet is the *Asma-ur-rijal*, in which he has corrected the names of authorities without making any change in the accounts of them. Another work is his *Tazkirat-ul-mozu'at*. In all his writings he first praises his preceptor Shaikh Ali Muttaqi. As instructed by his preceptor he would prepare the ink for his puplis while he

[1] 'Heir of the Imam Ali.'

[2] As-sihah-us-sittah 'The six correct books,' *i.e.*, the six most trustworthy collections of traditions as received by the Sunnis. They are the works by :—

Abu Abdallah Muhammad al-Bukhari, born 194 A.H. died 256 A.H.
Abu'l-Husain Muslim-al-Qushairi, born 204 A.H. died 261 A.H.
Abu Isa Muhammad-ul-Tirmizi, born 209 A.H. died 279 A.H.
Abu Daud-as-Sajastani, born 202 A.H. died 275 A.H.
Abu abdi Rahman-an-Nasai, born 215 A.H. died 303 A.H.
Abu Abdallah-al-Qazvini, born 209 A.H. died 273 A.H.

See Hughes' Dictionary, p. 582.

taught them. He was a zealous reformer, and was at last killed by the Bohras on the 6th Shavval 986 A.H. Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan and his family are descendants of the Maulana.

Skaikh Abdul Latif.

Chosen successor of Saint Qutb-i-Alam, who called him his twelfth son. He lived at Pattan, and whenever his arrival in Ahmedabad was reported the Saint was pleased and blessed him who reported it and filled his mouth with gold. The Shaikh was a pious divine and a well-known author. He lived a life of voluntary poverty, and would not accept the stipends allotted to the Sufis. One day he was pressed by his wife for money. He consoled her, quoting the Prophet's saying "Poverty is my pride," and took her to his cell. Forthwith heaps of precious stones were found scattered there, even the earthen pots were changed into gold! "Take so much as thou needest for the house" said the Saint. And she took those pots, and it is said they lasted till 1041 A.H. His anniversary is performed on 4th Ramazan.

Shaikh Sadhan.

Son of Abdul Latif; buried at Pattan. His name was Sadr-ud-din and miracles are attributed to him. Anniversary on 9th Sha'ban. The sepulchre of the forty martyrs is also at Pattan. Anniversary on 19th Sha'ban.

Shaikh Sulaiman.

Successor of Saint Nizam-ud-din, and buried in the mausoleum of Shaikh Abdul Latif outside the fort. Anniversary on 27th Rajab.

Other Saints.

Shaikh Rukn-ud-din, the mystic: buried near Shaikh Hisam-ud-din's tomb. Anniversary on 27th Ramazan.

Qazi Ahmad: successor of Saint Ganj Ahmad. He was the fourth Ahmad who took part in the foundation of the city of Ahmedabad. He died on 10th Shavval 840 A.H.

Khwaja Ahmad, son of Muhammad, disciple of Saint Makhdum-i-Jahanian; buried at Nahrwala. Anniversary on 8th Jumadi I.

Shaikh Zain-ud-din the tailor, buried at Pattan outside the Khirki gate. Anniversary on 13th Jumadi I.

Shaikh-ul-Islam Shaikh Siraj-ud-din, disciple and successor of his uncle Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Muhammad of Audh; buried at Nahrwala near the Anawara Gate. Anniversary on 21st Jumadi I.

Khwaja Fazlullah, surnamed Baba Bahlol, the mystic, of Ghyaspur, lived in the time of Saint Nizam-ud-din, and is buried at Pattan. Anniversary on 27th Ramazan

Baba Dehliya was the Shaikh of Nahrwala, and is buried there. Anniversary on 10th Zu'l-hijja.

Shah Qazan belonged to the Shataria order, and learnt Sufiism from Shah Wajih-ud-din Alavi. He died on Tuesday 3rd Safar 920 A.H., and is buried at Pattan, near the Khan Sarovar tank.

Malik Bahu-ud-din, companion of Shaikh Husain-ud-din was the patron saint of Pattan, and is buried there. Anniversary on 18th Safar.

Maulana Ahmad, better known as Makhdum Bohra. He was a teacher at Nahrwala, and is buried there. Anniversary on 22nd Safar.

Bibi Hajira, surnamed Sa'adat Khatun, was the mother of Saint Qutb-i-Alam whom she brought from Uchh to Pattan. She performed seven pilgrimages to Mecca, and is buried at Nahrwala in Banjara lane. Anniversary on 3rd Zu'l-hijja.

Bibi Aran, sister of Seyyid Husain *Khing Suwar*, buried at Pattan in 855 A.H.

Bibi Bicha, second sister of the above-mentioned Seyyid, buried near Sahasra Ling tank.

History of the Saints buried in Birpur.

Qazi Muhammad Daryai :—His father Qazi Hamid, surnamed Shah Jaebulanda, was a disciple of Saint Shah Alam, and his grandfather Qazi Muhammad was disciple of Saint Qutb-i-Alam. When a child he showed marks of the Divine Love, and in his youth he reached to the higher stages of Sufiism. The Bukhari Seyyids style him a disciple of Shaikji, son of Seyyid Mahmud, son of Saint Qutb-i-Alam; but this is not right, for he was his

father's disciple. It is said that the great saint 'Ghaus-ul-'azam'[1] of Gilan appeared in a dream, and asked the Qazi to become a disciple of his father. So he spoke to his father, who said to him "Verily I have been mysteriously told that my end is nigh at hand and I must make thee my successor." So a day was fixed. Thereon his father made the Qazi his disciple and his successor. And he passed away next day. The Qazi succeeded his father and taught Sufiism to the people. God appointed him also guardian saint over the ocean, and ships were saved from storms when his name was uttered. Hence he was called *Daryai*.

It is said that the Qazi in his childhood was brought before Shah Alam, who blessed him saying that his turban's end would flutter far and wide.

Now the Qazi being a villager, spoke like a village man. It happened that one day in an assembly of great men, such as Shaikhuji, grandson of Qutb-i-Alam, and Sultan Muzaffar Halim and his courtiers, the Qazi referring to Saint Shah Alam called him *Manjhan Miyan.* "Thou speakest slightingly of the Saint; why dost thou not call him Shah Alam?" said one to the Qazi. "I am a rustic, think not to get city ways from me. And I trust that the Saint will pardon me." But he was insistent, and the Qazi exclaimed "Come let us go to the tomb of the Saint. And we will call him as we are wont. Let us see whom he answers." So they stood by the tomb, and one called the Saint "Shah Alam" but received no answer. Then the Qazi stood up and wept and cried aloud, "Manjhan Miyan, Manjhan Miyan, thy servant Muhammad doth wait at the door." Straightaway a voice was heard, saying "I have heard thee Muhammad, and I receive thy salutation." "Give me, then, my share of the sacrament" prayed the Qazi; and, lo! a loaf of bread with *halwa* was presented to him. It is said that Imad-ul-mulk, one of the nobles of Gujarat, who was a disciple of the Qazi, was suffering from a fatal disease. He begged the Qazi to pray for him. But the Qazi while praying was told from above that the death of the sick man was at hand; so he prayed to God to take twelve years from his own life and add it to the sick man's life.

[1] A title of Abdul Qadir Jilani, the founder of the Qadiria order of Darvishes.

His disciples remonstrated, but the Qazi continued to pray until Imad-ul-mulk was cured; but the Qazi himself died. Imad-ul-mulk lived for twelve years more, but he was unhappy and he suffered. The Qazi composed lyrical songs in Hindi. He stayed for some time in Ahmedabad during the early days of his life, but in the year 920 A.H. he finally settled at Birpur. It was at the age of eleven that he chose a lonely cottage for the sake of contemplation and devotion, waiting at times on his father to receive his instructions. He led the life of a recluse for fifty-six years, and died at the age of sixty-seven on the 13th Rabi II 941 A.H. He was listening to music, when of a sudden he was filled with the spirit and died. His tomb is still visited by the people.

Saints who are buried in Nadiad.

Miyan [1] Alolak: His name was Shaikh Muhammad, and he was a native of a village in Nadiad and a Sufi. One day Shah Alam happened to pass where the Shaikh was sitting cleaning vegetables. Seeing the Saint he turned his back, and gave no reply when the Saint called him thrice by his name. "Sir Coquette, why speakest thou not?" said the Saint with a smile. The Shaikh rose up and fell at the feet of the Saint, for this was as it were a title and with that purpose he had thus behaved. He is buried in Nadiad outside the gate leading towards Ahmedabad.

Seyyid Imam-ud-din: His father Seyyid Kabir-ud-din came to India from Iraq, and having converted many Hindus died at Lahore. He was the descendant of the Imam [1] Ja'far-i-Sadiq. Imam-ud-din preached among the Hindus, and made many converts. His descendants have continued to do this and have a large number of followers who are called "Mominas." Whatever they earn they pay one tenth of it to the descendants of the Seyyid—the keepers of the shrine. If any of them has ten sons he would offer one for the service of the shrine, and would gladly part with his life in its defence. In the reign of Bahadur Shah I of Delhi many of them were killed, as I have already mentioned

1 Alolak—diminutive of Alol (Hindi) gambolling, wantonness, coquetry.
2 The sixth Shia Imam.

in the historical portion. These people are found in Gujarat and the Deccan and are generally well off. They observe certain ceremonies of the believers[1] so as to live in friendship with them, and therefore they are hated by the Shaikhs of the land who attend not their anniversaries. The Seyyid's tomb is at [2]Giramtha five leagues from Ahmedabad. His descendants live there, and receive their daily and annual stipends from the Dargah, where food is freely distributed to any new comer. The head of the Dargah is called 'Kaka.' He must lead a life of celibacy and look after the management: this is well done. The Seyyid's anniversary is celebrated on the 26th Ramazan.

At Dholka.

Seyyid Hasan Khatib: Successor of Nizam-ud-din of Delhi. He came in the company of some Sufis to Gujarat, and settled in Dholka. Once he went to pay visit to Shaikh Muhammad Isa at Jaunpur, where he met a certain poor young student named Baha-ud-din. The Shaikh had pity on him, and taking him to the jungle transmuted some base metal into gold and gave it to him. "I thank thee" said the poor young man, "but I have no need of this; I want an elixir for my soul." "Well said, my son" replied the Shaikh, and gladly he began to teach him the lessons of Sufiism. When the Shaikh received the robe from Muhammad Isa and was about to leave Jaunpur the student prepared to accompany him. But the Shaikh advised him to stay as a disciple of Muhammad Isa, and he did according to his order. The Shaikh's tomb is at Dholka, and is a fine spacious building. The anniversary is performed on 17th Zu'l-Qa'da, and lasts for four or five days.

At Mangalore.

Seyyid Sikandar: Son of Seyyid Masud and successor of Makhdum-i-Jahanian. Buried at Mangalore; anniversary on 11th Rabi II.

[1] "Believers." The *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 41, says "converted by the Bokhari Syeds at various times, their sect is generally known as Imam Shahis, or followers of Imam Shah of Pirana, (1449)."

[2] Giramtha is about nine miles South of Ahmedabad, and near it lies the monastery of Pirana. (For a detailed account of Imam Shah, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 287, which gives a description of the five shrines at this place.)

At Bhadiad.

Seyyid [1] Mahmud Shahid: Buried at Bhadiad. Anniversary on 13th Rajab. Many people flock there on that day.

At Una Dilwara.

Maulana Shams-ud-din: He is buried at Una in the Sorath Sarkar. He died on the 1st of Ramazan 864 A.H.

At Wadhwan.

The tomb of the forty martyrs. Anniversary on 18th Sha'-ban.

At Cambay.

Shah Baba Chishti: son of Shaikh Umar Chishti, known for his miracles. He died on 25th Zu'l-hijja 871 A.H., and is buried at Cambay.

Qazi Nur-ud-din, a well-known Sufi, is also buried at Cambay. Anniversary on 25th Jumadi I.

Maulana Miyan is also buried here. Anniversary on the 1st Jumadi II.

The port of Cambay is very ancient, and many other Sufis whose names are not known to me are buried here.

At Broach.

Seyyid Sharaf-ud-din Mashhadi: Son of Seyyid Ala-ud-din, son-in-law and successor of Seyyid Jalal Makhdum-i-Jahanian, who gave him a tooth stick, saying that, during his travels, wherever he stopped he should plant it in the earth, and if it got green and put forth leaves, there he should settle. And it happened that when Sharaf-ud-din reached Broach he planted the tooth stick and it became green, so he settled there and passed the remainder of his life in teaching. He died on Sunday afternoon 18th Rajab 808 A.H. His tomb is about one *kos* from Broach looking towards Ahmedabad. His descendants are found both in Ahmedabad and Broach, and a *pura* and a village were bestowed on them as endowment for the upkeep of the shrine.

[1] This Saint is the head of the Mahmudshai Mominas and is said to have come from Uchh. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 333. Bhadiad lies two miles north-west of Dholera.

Maulana Ghayas. He was a chosen devotee and followed the Prophet's injunction, "The best of men is he who doth good to his fellowmen"—so much so that he kept ready in his house, money, clothes, food, medicines, books, utensils, tools, and other things, and freely gave them to the needy. He was a great scholar and a righteous man. Shaikh Abdul Wahhab once asked the Prophet in a dream, "Tell me, O Apostle of God, who is the most learned man in these days?" "Miyan Ghayas, then thy Pir Ali Muttaqi, and then Muhammad Tahir," answered the Prophet. The anniversary of Maulana Ghayas is celebrated on 21st Rajab.

Maulana Shaikh Muhammad. Son of Ahmad Shah; was a teacher, and is buried in New Gate quarter. Anniversary on 10th Jumadi I.

Shaikh Mubarak. Successor of Shaikh Baha-ud-din of Jaunpur. Anniversary on 13th Jumadi I.

Seyyid Muhammad. Son of Seyyid Zain-ud-din; is also buried at Broach. Anniversary on 13th Jumadi I.

Qazi Ilm-ud-din Anniversary on 5th Rajab.

Baba Ghor Habash is buried in a village near Broach. Anniversary on 15th Rajab.

Shaikh Muhammad. Surnamed "Kathi phar."[1] Anniversary on 21st Sha'ban.

Shaikh Musa and Shaikh Isa: their anniversaries fall on 22nd Sha'ban.

Shaikh Amin-ur-Rahman son of Seyyid Kamal-ud-din Safi. Anniversary on 13th Ramazan.

Seyyid Abdulla 'Idrusi, son of Sharif Shaikh 'Idrusi, who is buried in Ahmedabad. His tomb is inside the Broach fort.

Shaikh Hasan "Sarmast,"[2] third son of Shaikh Azizullah (buried in Ahmedabad), was a maystic, ever absorbed in the thought of the Deity. While he made his five prayers, he would come to his senses; but at other times he remained in a state of absorption and ecstasy. He is buried in Broach.

Baba Ganj Raihan is also buried here. Anniversary on 6th Sha'ban.

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1 The 'saddle tearer'—probably because of his personal strength.

2 'Eccentric.'

•Pir Chatar : nothing is known about him. A strange thing is seen on his tomb in Broach. In the hollow of the tombstone there is always water, although thousands of people take it.

Shaikh Nasir : A descendant of Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhravardi,[1] was a great Sufi of his time and had many disciples. He is buried at Navsari. Anniversary on 10th Sha'ban.

Shaikh Muhammad Fazlullah is also buried here. Anniversary on 7th Jumadi I.

Seyyid Saifullah Rafa'i, buried at Rander in Surat. He died on 5th Jumadi I, 1160 A.H.

Seyyid Muhammad 'Idrusi, son of Seyyid Abdullah of Broach. Buried at Surat. Anniversary on 7th Zu'l-hijja.

Seyyid Sa'dullah : a great scholar well versed in theology and the sciences, and a voluminous author. He died on 27th Jumadi I, 1138 A.H. and is buried at Surat.

Baba Piyare : nothing is known for certain of his history. His tomb is near the bank of the Narbada and is well-known.

Arjun Shah : various opinions are held about him. He is buried at Petlad, thirty leagues from Ahmedabad.

CHAPTER III.

The inhabitants of Ahmedabad.

During the reigns of the Sultans of Gujarat all sorts of men—noble Seyyids, great Sufis, respected Ulamas, and adventurous traders of different countries—Arabia, Persia, Syria, Rum, Sind, and Hindustan—came from time to time and settled here, attracted by the beneficence, justice, equity, and piety, of its rulers. They were followed by Government officials, Jahgirdars and their retinue (both Hindus and Muhammadans), all those who accompanied the Nazims sent by the Mogul Emperors. To describe

1 Born 539 A.H.; died 632 A.H. (about two years later than Abdul Qadir of Gilan), and for some time chief Shaikh of the Sufis at Baghdad. See Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 496.

all such settlers and their descendants—for example, Quraishis who are found in Pargana Thasra, Gandrain, Unjha and other places—would be a difficult task. I shall, therefore content myself with an account of those who from the time of the foundation of the city are known as Gujaratis; whose ancestors were either children of the soil, or migrated from the neighbouring districts, such as the Desawals who came from Deesa.

The population of the city consists of two main divisions, namely, Hindus and Muhammadans.[1]

Among the Muhammadans prominent are the Bohras who are found trading with Arabia, Persia, and Hindustan. They are converts from Hinduism. It is said that one Mulla Muhammad Ali (buried in Cambay and known as Pir-i-Parwaz[2] whose tomb is

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[1] *Vide* Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, p. 197.

[2] 'The flying saint.'—Another reading is Pir-i-Rawan. See *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, p. 199. *Pir-i-ravan*, however, can hardly mean 'The ever living saint,' as stated by Mr. Enthoven; *ravan*, used adjectively, means 'moving.' The title is thus practically the same as *Pir-i-parwaz.*

Our author must have known Cambay well. Yet there does not appear to be any *Pir* now known there as 'Pir-i-ravan' or 'Pir-i-parwaz.' Nor do current beliefs afford support to the statement that the first missionary was Muhammad Ali. A small Gujarati book written by Yusuf Ali Adarji and printed at the Haidari Press, Bombay, under the title of *Boston-i-Ma'rifat* in 1901, gives the popular history of these first conversions. Raja Siddhraj had been pursuaded to kill a Muslim every day. A certain Maula-i-Ahmad was taken, and he induced the Raja to content himself with cutting off his hand. He then travelled to Egypt and reported the matter to Al Mustansir B'illah the Eighth Fatimid Khalifa, who reigned from 427 to 487 A.H. (1035-1095 A.D.)—thus reigning for longer than any other Khalifa anywhere. Al Mustansir miraculously rejoined the hand and sent him back to India. Ahmad went to Cambay, and persuaded two Hindu boys, named Ramji and Rupchand to join him. These boys, renamed Abdulla and Nur-ud-din, were taken to Egypt and trained; and the three—Ahmad, Abdulla and Nur-ud-din—returned to Cambay as missionaries. Among the earliest conversions was that of Bharmal, *Vazir* of Siddhraj; and the *Bostan-i-ma'rifat* details the anecdotes given by Mr. Enthoven. Ahmad and Abdullah are both buried at Cambay. The former is known as Pir-i-Ahmad or Pir-i-nariali, the latter as Pir Maulai. Unfortunately Al Mustansir died in 1095 A.D. and Raja Siddhraj did not begin to reign till A.D. 1093. This makes the chronology a little difficult. But it may be accepted that the Cambay Bohras had their origin in the preaching of some Ismailian da'is' sent from Egypt, whose Khalifa was the most powerful Ismailian potentate of the time. The splendour and opulence of Cairo in the time of Al Mustansir have been vividly described in his *Safarnama* by the Persian traveller Nasir-i-Khusrau, who afterwards became Ismailian missionary (da'i) in Western Asia.

visited by the Shia Bohras) came to Cambay, where he found the people believing in a chief saint. The Mulla paid homage to him, learnt the language of the people and in secret began to unfold the beauties of Islam to the saint, who in the course of time became a believer, and with him some of his chosen followers as well as the Minister of the Raja. This little band of early converts kept its Islam secret through fear of the Raja. One day, the Raja, being informed of his Minister's change of creed, of a sudden entered his house and saw him praying; "What meanest thou by this kneeling and this falling on the ground?" asked the the Raja. The Minister, by God's grace not losing his presence of mind, gave a ready reply, saying that he was moving up and down in looking for and avoiding danger from a snake. The Raja looked at the corner of the room, and lo! a serpent was there.

The Minister again received his master's confidence, and in the course of time was able to persuade the Raja to believe in Islam. The Raja, too, kept his creed secret; but after his death he was buried as desired by him, and not burnt as the heathens do.

Now, the Mulla being a Shia, the converts naturally adopted the Shia creed. At Pattan, which was then a big city, they were in the majority; but when Sultan Muzaffar took possession of Gujarat, his Sunni followers who had come with him from Delhi, converted the Shia Borahs of the towns, but the Bohras of the neighbouring districts and villages remained Shias. For a long time the Sunni and Shia Bohras allowed intermarriages, but from the time of one Seyyid Ja'far of Shiraz, who is buried inside the fort near the Astodiya Gate, the two communities became separate from each other—the Sunnis being called "the big community," and the Shias "the small community." The latter community have always a leader who is called a Mulla. He is a learned man and he is authorised to appoint collectors of *Zakat* and *Khums*—taxes which are paid by their followers. The money thus collected is given to their Seyyids and the poor of their community. Some of them have adopted the belief of the followers of the Twelve Imams.

Shia Bohras are divided into seven sects, *viz.*—Daudia,

Sulaimania, Alia, Zaidia, Hajumia, Ismailia, and Nazaria, who came with Seyyid Imam-ud-din (buried at the village of Giramtha).

As described in the chapter on the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, these Shias were persecuted, so they would not openly profess their beliefs, and they have kept their religious books hidden. However, this much is known—that they count their months according to the Hindu calculation. For example, their first of Ramazan falls on the Hindu *Padwa*, one or two days before the new moon is visible. Consequently, their Ramazan is completed on the 28th or 29th of the ordinary Ramazan of the Muslims, and they celebrate their 'Id festival separately. In the reign of Aurangzeb these people were forced to take food on the last day of Sha'ban and abstain from it on the closing day of Ramazan. Prefects of their towns as well as teachers and Imams who were Sunnis were also forced on them.

Derivation of 'Bohra.'

Many of the Brahmans and Banias of this land have the surname of Vohra, and converts from these people retained their surname in Islam from the time of their first preacher Mulla Muhammad Ali. Or it may be that, their first religious guide being named Bohra, the followers were named after him. There are other derivations of the word, but they are not worth our consideration.

The Hindus.

Hindus are divided into various castes and sects. They are Brahmans; Shevràs; Kshatriyas; Rajputs; Banias; Kayasths; Kunbis (farmers) and Kolis; goldsmiths: blacksmiths; fullers; oil-makers; carpenters; weavers; tailors; dyers; tanners; and Dheds. They are all children of the soil, but some of them are of foreign origin. Every caste, in the course of centuries, has been sub-divided owing to the adoption of certain vicious customs or to some misalliance. Even the Brahmans, who are considered the noblest of the race and who follow the four Vedas, have become divided into different sub-castes. Others have a varying standard of position. Thus

Bisas are those whose fathers and mothers are both of pure origin. Dasas are those who are base born on the mother's side. And so Panchas and Warias are those who are half or a quarter as pure bred as Dasas; and they are the last. Excommunication is the punishment meted out to the guilty man or woman, who is, however, taken back on making penance and payment. Among the Kshatriyas, Kayasths, and Banias, excommunication is common.

A description of all the Hindu castes being a difficult task, I shall give an account only of the Brahmans, Shevras, Banias, Meshris, and Shravaks.

The Brahmans.

Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Ākbari* says that Barahman—changed to Brahman in course of time—came out from the mouth of Brahma, the creator of the world. Originally according to the number of the Vedas they were divided into four classes—each devoted to a particular Veda. In the course of time they split into a large number of subdivisions. There are, however, seven chief Rishis, *viz.*: Kashyapa, Atri, Bharadwaj, Vishwamitra, Gautam, Angirasa, Pulasti. There are further subdivisions, named after prominent ancestors who founded a particular system. All persons descending from such an ancestor are of one *Kul* or *Gotra*, within which marriage is forbidden.

The Brahmans do not recognise converts, nor will they accept any one who goes against their time honoured Vedic rites. Similarly renegades are never taken back, even if they perform penance.

Brahmans observe four periods of life, namely :—

1. *Brahmacharya*, the early unmarried life, devoted to the pursuit of knowledge.

2. *Grihastha*, married, worldly life.

3. *Vanaprastha*, the life of devotion in the jungles, living only on fruit, accompanied by one's wife, a son having been left behind.

4. *Sanyas*, the giving up of everything and complete devotion to the Deity.

The Brahmans[1] are divided into more than one hundred classes. The following eighty-four, however, are the best known.

1. Nagar; They are divided into six groups:
   (a) Vadnagra living in Vadnagar (Kadi district) considered superior to others.
   (b) Visnagra living in Visnagar, (Kadi district).
   (c) Sathodra living in Sathora of Pargana, Dabhoi.
   (d) Krashnora
   (e) Parashnorá
   (f) Chitroda
2. Audich: divided into three groups.
   (a) Sahistar
   (b) Malvi
   (c) Tolakiya.
3. Modh: divided into six groups:—
   (a) Trivedi.
   (b) Chaturvedi
   (c) Ikyársa
   (d) Dhanojia
   (e) Jehti
   (f) Tajurja.
4. Shrimali.
5. Shrigod: with four groups:—
   (a) Malvi
   (b) Miratwal
   (c) Haryana
   (d) Paravalya
6. Khandolia
7. Borsadia
8. Janev
9. Kapilia
10. Raithalia
11. Kokalia
12. Khedwa
13. Sompura

[1] See *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, p. 213. Mr. Enthoven's book is a perfect mine of information. Many of the names given here are not to be found in the lists given in '*Tribes and Castes*.' But our author wrote more than a century and a half ago, and changes occur in the course of time. Moreover, although Ali Muhammad Khan was an intelligent inquirer and had a Hindu assistant, he probably suffered to some extent from the common Indian indifference to, and ignorance of, the peculiarities of communities which were different from, and therefore, inferior to his own. So details about Hindu castes and customs may occasionally be open to doubt.

14. Dasura
15. Vodich
16. Valafra
17. Merath
18. Khadatir
19. Bhargav
20. Nardik
21. Halenbia
22. Udner
23. Pushkarna
24. Mewara: divided into three groups:—
    (*a*) Bhat Mewara
    (*b*) Chorasi
    (*c*) Trivedi
25. Nagora
26. Jhardu
27. Chodalia
28. Amiria
29. Kapol
30. Darawad
31. Gernara
32. Sarasvat
33. Vayada
34. Daida
35. Pillival
36. Gayaval
37. Gorwal
38. Ravival
39. Gomtival
40. Uneval
41. Khetval
42. Miratya
43. Parbatval
44. Rohduval
45. Rayakval
46. Dasaval
47. Tilanga
48. Mathuria
49. Itaval
50. Tilotia
51. Narsipura
52. Sachora
53. Salodia
54. Gomitra
55. Ashtmangala
56. Bhatela
57. Tandonia
58. Sarangpura
59. Tirpat
60. Derkmana
61. Kanrera
62. Kanujia
63. Gopal
64. Dhima
65. Parsura
66. Govardhana
67. Vasdha
68. Akasna
69. Mukalvada
70. Tanudia
71. Nathvar
72. Paradhia
73. Namdak
74. Bhadana
75. Danpura
76. Harsakhia
77. Piranya
78. Motala
79. Sakhved
80. Lad
81. Sikmoria
82. Dhani
83. Ahenserpura
84. Perikhasthala.

These eighty-four are commonly known; but I add some more from trustworthy sources. They are :—

1. Bahdajar
2. Umetha
3. Gud
4. Gunda
5. Sampura
6. Vasvardha
7. Napul
8. Jagnivalek
9. Kalodia
10. Mahesantuk
11. Varumel
12. Malu
13. Hanmen
14. Potival
15. Panval
16. Perumandpa
17. Mathman
18. Tarvadi
19. Chaorasi
20. Bhatsankernek.

Shevras [1]—*also known as Jatis.*[2]

They are a class of mendicants who observe celibacy and have knowledge of medicine and astrology. Their God is Parasnath, and they are austere ascetics. A section of them, called Dhondias, do not believe in images. They abstain from food and drink for full forty days (some shorten the period) in their special periods called *Pachusan*. During the rainy season they halt for four months at particular places pointed out by their leaders.

The preservation of life is the essence of their creed, and therefore they walk barefooted, so as not to harm even an ant. They also keep a piece of cloth over their mouths, so as to preserve mosquitoes from being killed by their breath. They consider the digging of wells and the construction of tanks and gardens as unmeritorious, for thereby living creatures are killed. They do not light lamps at night, nor kindle fire for cooking, nor draw water for drinking. They live on food provided by their disciples—the Bania Shravaks. Some fix on two or three houses whence they get their food, but if they find the door closed they do not knock, and pass the day and night without food. Similarly, on marriage occasions, funerals, and feasts, they do not enter any house, nor will they eat anything at night.

1 શેવડો (Guj.) 'a Jain Saint; an individual of a particular order of mendicants who allow the hair of their heads to grow,' (Belsare's *Gujarati Dictionary*).

2 જટી—જટા 'matted hair on the head worn by ascetics,' (Belsare).

They abstain from eating brinjals, cucumbers, and certain other vegetables, as they believe them to be possessed of life. They tie a piece of cloth round their loins, and cover themselves with a sheet from head to foot, holding in their hand a silken brush to sweep the ground whereon they desire to sit, so as to save insects from destruction. They do not believe in God as creator of the world, for their leaders think the generation of man and other living creatures is like the natural growth of grass from times immemorial. They say that man is made of the four elements, which dissolve at his death and return to their respective sources, and there can be no punishment in the future world. So, too, offerings to the dead are like pouring oil on an extinguished lamp. They do not shave, nor bathe, nor use a tooth brush; and they are opposed to the Brahmans and Meshris, who bathe at least twice a day. They accept children from any caste, and, having taught them, choose the best as their successors. The Meshris, who are followers of the Brahmans, hate these people to such an extent that, if they see a murderous rogue elephant let loose in one place and a dwelling of the Shevras in another, they would prefer to be trampled on by the rogue rather than meet the Shevra. It is said that Gaotam, who was one of the seven Rakhisaras, was the founder of the sect. The Shevras are divided into 84 classes called *Gachhas*.

Like the Brahmans and the Banias their classes are generally named after the towns where they were settled. Here below is a list of their various classes.

1. Uswal Gacha
2. Kankesara
3. Jaraval Gacha
4. Jhirnia
5. Bharucha
6. Anpuja
7. Adovaiya
8. Godvia
9. Vikodia
10. Ranenmalia
11. Modasia
12. Dasahia
13. Kachpalia
14. Dhodhawal
15. Vadodariu
16. Brahmna
17. Jalora
18. Bokadia
19. Modhahadia
20. Chitoda
21. Sachwea
22. Gujdia
23. Sidhantia
24. Saksania

25. Anchalia
26. Baldhasa
27. Bhaorajia
28. Gaorania
29. Makedak
30. Dharamkokha
31. Nagora
32. Pakhtval
33. Tamaval
34. Khedarval
35. Mandura.
36. Nagral
37. Khambatia
38. Surana
39. Badodia
40. Suraya
41. Mandalia
42. Kothipura
43. Jangada
44. Baparval
45. Borsadia
46. Dhundhia
47. Charad
48. Digada
49. Vedpancha
50. Dasahra
51. Kutubpura
52. Kacholia
53. Sarpalia
54. Vakra
55. Kanahisapancha
56. Purantiak
57. Robuya
58. Dhadha Kaha
59. Gambhen
60. Panchdhalia
61. Palanpura
62. Gamdhara
63. Gudbalia
64. Sadpunamia
65. Nagarkotia
66. Hansarkotia
67. Bhatnera
68. Sorathia
69. Bhinseva
70. Tangadia
71. Kanujia
72. Vakhesara
73. Dhadda
74. Sidhpura
75. Sevantaria
76. Khokhadhara
77. Nikamza.
78. Akhamia
79. Dav
80. Chaitraval
81. Sanjatia
82. Bareja
83. Sorandval
84. Nagol.

The Banias.

Here are tabulated the eighty-four divisions of Banias, Meshris,[1] and Shravaks.[2] This class is known as Banika or Bania, and are the people called Baqqals in Arabic.

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[1] A class of Banias.

[2] A lay follower of Jainism. (Belsare.)

See *Tribes and Castes*, p. XVII, ' These numerous groups (of Banias) contain Jain and Hindu division known as Shravak and Meshri, that will not intermarry '

1. Shrimali
2. Osval
3. Vaghirsal
4. Dhandu
5. Pakarval
6. Medatval
7. Harsura
8. Suran
9. Palival
10. Bhalu
11. Gandirval
12. Dobisalval
13. Khenderuval
14. Porval
15. Disaval
16. Gujar
17. Mohedval
18. Agaral
19. Jaelval
20. Mamàval
21. Kathunival
22. Korantaval
23. Chatraval
24. Soni
25. Surtival
26. Nagar
27. Modh
28. Jhalora
29. Lad
30. Kapol
31. Khadatia
32. Vayada
33. Vasora
34. Bajval
35. Naghdara
36. Karahda
37. Bhabura
38. Masuda
39. Narsinghra
40. Kaherval
41. Panchamval
42. Hanerval
43. Sarkhandera
44. Ves
45. Rasemki
46. Kambuval
47. Jevdaval
48. Bhogivda
49. Ujhetval
50. Banhvad
51. Shigod
52. Bhagur
53. Walmel
54. Tisuda
55. Tilota
56. Ashtwargi
57. Latisakha
58. Varthola
59. Kachura
60. Khechu
61. Honbad
62. Nima
63. Padmavena
64. Meheria
65. Heheria
66. Dhakval
67. Mankuvar
68. Goelvad
69. Mahurvad
70. Chitroda
71. Kakaliya
72. Bhareja
73. Anandawara
74. Nagora
75. Sachora
76. Bhogandval

77. Madahda
78. Bharamania
79. Vagdia
80. Manduria
81. Purbal
82. Sorathiapurvad
83. Badhnora
84. Nibhava

HINDU TEMPLES AND "TIRTHS."

There are many temples both old and new in this land. I shall mention only the more important ones—such as are visited by pilgrims from distant places.

Pilgrimage to such places is called *Jātrā*. There are certain bathing places called *Tirths*, where the Hindus, as they believe, wash away their sins. The important sects of the Hindus are (1) Meshri, and (2) Shravak.

(1) Meshris follow the Brahmans and worship Mahadev, Bhavani, and Krishna. They are divided into ten sects; there are some who worship Krishna, paying at the same time some respect to Mahadev; these are called Vaishnavas and Bhagats whose religious preceptors are called Gosains, who are those Brahmans who consider themselves adopted sons of Krishna.

The Shravaks follow the Shevras who worship Parasnath and are hated by the Meshris. There are temples of both in this country; the one does not believe in the temples of the other. The Shravaks have no faith in *Shraddh*, and *Tirths*, and they even avoid bathing and the pouring of water.

As the temples of the Meshris are the places of worship accepted by a very large majority of the Hindus, such as Rajputs, Khatris, Kathis, etc., I shall first give some description of them.

Somnath.

It is the greatest and the most important temple, to which throng Hindus from all parts of India. It is situated in the city of the same name on the sea-side, wherein is a strong fortress under the jurisdiction of Sorath, now known as Pattan Dev or Prabhas Pattan. This temple has been described in prose and poetry. The author of the *Haft Iqlim* says that in this temple were many idols of gold, and that they called the greatest Manat.[1] And many explanations exist, but they are not accepted

[1] Bird discusses the derivation of Somnath (p. 38) either स्वयंभूनाथ the Self-existing Lord, or सोमनाथ the moon Lord; in either case a form of Mahadev or

by the Brahmans; for, they say that this idol has been worshipped by the Brahmans for four thousand years, and before the time of Krishna. However this may be, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni marched from Ghazni in 416 A.H. to destroy and break the temple. And he laid siege to it. And during the siege there was a fierce fight, and the battle lasted all day long. And next day he used engines of war and showed mighty valour. And the people of the Somnath hastened in regiments to the temple, and surrounded the Somnath and fought with tears and cries for help, till more than fifty thousand were slain and the fort was conquered. Then Sultan Mahmud entered the temple, and saw a place broad and long, containing fifty-six columns, each adorned with gems. And the Somnath was an idol of stone, buried for five yards in the ground. And when Mahmud's eyes fell on it, he broke it with the mace which he had in his hands. And he took away a piece of the stone to Ghazni, and with it paved the threshold of the Jami Masjid; and so it is to this day. And from the inside of the idol precious stones poured out. And this is told in full detail in the *Rauzat-us-safa*, in the fourth of its seven volumes; and other books of travel also relate it.

Shiva. Mahomedan writers consider that the idol was one of the old ancient Arabian gods, Lat and Manat. The *Habib-us-Siyar* of Khondamir quotes Attar as follows:—

لشکر محمود اندر سومنات بافتندی بت که نامش بود لات

(Mahmud's army found in Somnath the idol called Lat). On the other hand Sa'di, in a well known story in the *Bustan*, describes Somnath thus:—

بتي ديدم از عاج در سومنات   مرصع چو در جاهليت منات

(I saw an idol in Somnath adorned like Manat in the days of ignorance.) Our author appears to accept this latter view. The manuscript, which we have followed, reads:—

بت بزرگ را منات میگفتند

while in the lithographed edition and in the Bombay MS. the reading is:—

بت بزرگ را سومنات میگفتند

with the addition of the letters سو to منات. The first reading is no doubt correct for it alone explains what follows. The Brahmans did not accept the view that the idol was Manat, for they said it was much too ancient to have been brought from Arabia, but dated from before the days of Krishna. It seems probable, of course, that the idea of the idol being Manat arose from the name So(manat).

Now the Hindus believe that all the idols of India are the chamberlains and porters of Somnath, which temple is washed every night by Ganges water brought from a distance of two hundred *kos*. Even during the siege, when the defenders were losing their lives, the washing ceremony was never omitted.

The temple had a rich endowment of ten thousand thriving villages with twenty thousand Brahman priests for the temple service. A massive gold chain was hung, and the ringing of the bells on this chain was a signal for the Brahmans to commence worship. Three thousand barbers, and the same number of musicians, and five hundred dancing girls were attached to the temple. Rajas used to dedicate their daughters to the God for temple service. As is recorded in the ancient religious books of the Brahmans, Somnath was one of the twelve *lings* of Mahadev, who has a thousand names like Somnath—such as Bhimnath, Jagnath, Gopnath, &c. Somnath is called the *Jotling*, *i.e.*, the bright *ling*. Wonderful tales and strange stories are told about it. The fact that Somnath was fixed in the ground five yards deep proves that it must have been a *ling*, for they fix *lings* in the ground.

After its destruction by Sultan Mahmud the temple was rebuilt by the Hindus, but in the year 696 A.H. Alf Khan, who was sent by Sultan Ala-ad-din Khilji to conquer Gujarat, destroyed it again. In the year 790 A.H. Zafar Khan, Sultan of Gujarat, hearing that the Brahmans have set up the *ling* again, marched to the place and destroyed it. In the reign of Aurangzeb it suffered again at the hands of the Muslims, and now only a few pillars of an old ruined temple are seen. Outside the fort of Pattan Dev by the side of the river Saraswati, a small temple with a *ling* has however been built, where pilgrims bound for Dwarka halt and pay homage.

Dwarkan.

A renowned ancient place of worship where Hindus from all parts of India flock. Its chief village Jagat is situated on the sea-side 175 *kos* from the city of Ahmedabad towards the west in the Sarkar of Sorath

It is said that in olden times Krishna of Mathura built here a fort of solid gold, now submerged. The word Dwarkan is made up

of Dwar—a gate, and Kan—one of the names of Krishna. So it means Krishna's sanctuary.

Krishna, leaving Mathura, settled here; and here he passed away. The village Jagat has a temple called Bhikam Narayan, situated on the river Gomti, which issuing from the ground of Okha kher, flows through Jagat and falls into the ocean—the place of confluence being called Chakra Tirth. Gopi Tank and Kailas kund and Pundara are also here. A *kund* is a fountain built up so as to form a reservoir, where pilgrims bathe and offer balls of oaten flour to the dead. It is said that none who enters the *kund* for such an offering is ever drowned, for he is kept floating on the surface of the water. Such wonders and other strange stories are told of these places. In the year 878 A.H. Sultan Mahmud Begada conquered Dwarkan, and destroyed the temple in the island of Shankhoddhar, and built a mosque (*see* the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*).

In the reign of Aurangzeb the Thanadar appointed by the Faujdar of Junagadh was ordered to stop the Hindus from worshipping at this place.

The island of Shankhoddhar (Beyt).

This is an island with an area of twelve *kos*, having sweet water streams, fruitful trees, and green fields. It has a tree which from its top to its roots is covered with branches, any of which when moved cause the whole tree to shake. The Brahmans believe it to be a tree from Vaikuntha (Heaven) and call it Parijatak. When a boat is three *kos* off, this wonderful tree is seen.

The island is named Shankhoddhar[1] because its shape is like a *Shankh* or bugle. Others derive it from Shankhasur, a demon that lived here.

In the time of the early Muslim rule the idols dedicated to Krishna, his father, and his brother, were removed from Jagat and placed in the island, but in the end they were destroyed by Sultan

[1] "All round the island, conch or *shankh* shells are found in abundance, and, say some, have given their name to the island, the gate of Conch Shells. The local pandits, deriving the name from Shankha Asura who was then slain by Krishna and obtained salvation or *uddhar*, declare that it should therefore be called Shankhoddhar, and not Shankhodwar." (*Baroda Gazetteer*—Desai and Clarke, Vol. 11, p. 762.)

Mahmud Begada. At present Beyt has a temple with an enclosure having six rooms facing each other in which six idols are placed; *viz.*, Ranchod (Krishna), Madhorai, Trikam, Kesoria, Vasudev (Krishna's father), and Kalyan. Four other rooms are dedicated to Krishna's wives, namely Rukmini, Radha, Satyabhama, and Jambuvati. There is a place before Trikam's room reserved for the Garud, the bird on which Krishna used to ride. Outside the tank a room is dedicated to Shankh Narayan. On the north gate of the outer wall another room, which is now in ruins, was reserved for Shankhasur Demon. It is said that one of the enclosures was used by the Naib Thanadar and had the tomb of one of the saints named Haji Kirmani, whose history is not known; this tomb is unmolested, and it is visited at times by Muslims.

At a distance of two *kos* from Jagat and opposite the Shankhoddhar island there is a spot named Aramda, where pilgrims get themselves shaved, pay tribute to the Zamindar of the place, and are branded on both arms. Brahmans are, however, exempted from branding, but are marked with *Gopi Chandan*, which is a yellowish dust taken from the Gopi tank. It is said that the Gopis (Krishna's sixteen hundred wives) drowned themselves in the tank, and were changed into dust after the death of their royal husband. And *Gopi Chandan* is taken to distant lands as a sacred relic.

Mul Mahadev.

This is a temple dedicated to Mahadev in Madhupur, Pargana Manglor, Sarkar Sorath, near the seaside. One of its wonders is[1] that, in the month of Ashadh when the Sun enters the sign of Cancer, and at the commencement of the rainy season between the ninth and fourteenth of the month, which the Hindus call *Purnamashi*, a bird a little smaller than a pigeon and of a strange form (some call it *Pakha*) comes from the seaside, and perching on the top of the temple, flaps its wings in joy for about two hours and then dies on the spot. The people burn incense and gather together to look at this strange thing, and they take from the bird omens regarding the rains. According as black and white is proportioned on its feathers, they augur what kind of

[1] Bayley, p. 197.

rainy season they will have, whether the rain will fall early or late or otherwise. If nothing but black, or nothing but white, is to be seen they infer that the rain will be continuous throughout the season, or that it will be a drought. No year ever passes without the appearance of the bird at this season. It is said that in the same manner a creature comes and sits in the temple of Pattan Diu, and on that of Jagat which is by the sea-shore, and the people there, too, draw omens from it, but God knows best what is true.

Amba Bhavani and Kalka Bhavani.

Two temples on the top of the Girnar mountain—one dedicated to the Goddess Amba is accessible to worshippers, but the other Kalka is inaccessible.

Bhairav Jap.[1]

According to the Hindu doctrine of transmigration of soul any person desiring to be reborn as a Raja or in a higher scale of existence, or to escape from this worldly life, which is called *Mukti*, should throw himself down from a particular mountain top or drown himself and thus commit suicide. On the top of the Girnar there is a huge stone projecting northward, from which such persons, chiefly Yogis and Sanyasis, would jump down into a deep cave. There are bathing tanks and places of worship on the Girnar; and a temple at the foot of it, wherein is the likeness of a lioness called Baghesari Bhavani.

Bagheshwari Bhavani.

A temple at the fort of the Girnar. The form of a lion is carved at its doorway.

[1] Bhairav Jap: Belsare's Dictionary has "Bhairav Jog Bhavon" to throw oneself down from the top of a particular hill of Girnar in Kathiawar believed to secure salvation." 'Bhairav Jap,' however, appears to be the popular name of this place; see *Girnarñu Gaurav* referred to below and *Bombay Gazetteer* (Kathiawar Volume), page 441. "The great rock called the 'Bhairav Jap' forms a most picturesque object and from this rock ascetics and others were wont to hurl themselves in the hopes of being born in a more favourable state of existence in a new life."

Gopinath.

A temple in Pargana Mahuva in the Gohilwad district, near the seashore, dedicated to Gopinath—one of the names of Mahadev, whose *ling* is fixed in the temple and attended by Sanyasis and idol worshippers.

Damodar.

A temple in Una, Sorath, having an idol dedicated to Modar, one of the names of Krishna. Its two arms are stretched out, as if it is giving sometLing. It is said that in the reign of Raja Mandlik the idol openly gave a garland and flowers to Narsi Mehta, a Nagar Brahman who was a worshipper of Krishna. From that time the arms of the idol have remained outstretched. Many other wonderful stories are told about Narsi, but it is of no use to quote them here.

Sarkeshwar.

A temple in Sahunaj, Pargana Arharmatar, having a *ling* attributed to Sarkeshwar, one of the names of Mahadev. It is said that the *ling* grows every year in size the extent of one rape-seed.

Bechra.[1]

A temple in Sankhalpur, Pattan Sarkar, forty *kos* from the city of Ahmedabad, having no idol or image, but a niche in the wall towards the west dedicated to Bechra, one of the names of Bhavani. Many stories are told about the foundation of the temple, but I pass them over here. Strange to say, its priests are said to be Muslims divided into two classes, namely, Pavyas and Kamalias. The Pavyas are clad like Hindu women, the Kamalias are soldiers who always keep with them a *Trishul*[2] which is Bechra's insignia. The Kolis and Rajputs of this district, who are generally robbers, believed in these priests, so much so that whenever any Kamalia serves as a guide to any caravan robbers dare not plunder it. Cocks and peacocks, believed to be the pets of the Goddess, are let loose as offerings to her. Bullocks are also

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[1] Bechraji Mata in the Chanasma Taluka of the Kadi District of the Baroda State. For a description see *Baroda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 604.

[2] Trishul: Tri=three, Shul=point. Three pointed lance. The Pavyas are eunuchs. The Kamalias are either Solanki Rajputs or descendants of the soldiers of Ala-ud-din Khilji. See *Baroda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 606.

sacrificed, the blood of which is sprinkled on the niche and is used as a mark on the forehead of the worshipper. Many Hindus have great faith in the Goddess; so they go there; fast for a period; and gain their desired end—such as the cure of a disease, restoration of eyesight, acquisition of a horse or other object. Sometimes the expectant believer is told in a dream to go and get what he desires from such and such person or place. Well says the proverb "My preceptor is of no worth; my faith is enough for me." As this place is considered the chief abode of the Goddess people from distant places flocks here in large numbers.

Mul Dwarkan.

Mul means root. It is a temple with an idol attributed to Krishna, seven *kos* from Kodinar, Sorath Sarkar. It is a peninsula on the seashore, reached on foot along the banks of the river Saraswati; the sea flows round it, save on this one side. Pilgrims are here also marked with a brand on their wrists.

Sudama.

Better known as Porbandar in the Sarkar of Sorath on the seaside. It has a temple dedicated to Sudama, a friend and school-mate of Krishna. His history is well-known, and Hindus come here for worship.

Chandreshwar Mahadev.

Chandreshwar is one of the names of Mahadev. This temple[1] is situated in Chandreshwar, Pargana Dholka, at a distance of three *kos* on the river Sabarmati. The Brahmans relate the following story.

In ancient times this place was a pasture ground where a herdsman used to tend his cattle. He had a fine cow with udders full of milk, but it so happened that every evening when he sat down to milk her he found that she gave none. Marvelling thereat he looked on the cow to seek the cause of it. At midday once he saw the cow go out, and he followed her. She stood at a hill, and lo! her milk flowed away leaving her udders empty. The herdsman returned home, and at night

[1] See *Bombay Gazetteer* (Ahmedabad), p. 339.

he saw Mahadev in a dream saying, "That hill is my abode, build thereon a temple." The herdsman answered "Behold; I have no money." "Thou shalt find it hidden in the hill," answered Mahadev. The herdsman sought and found the treasure and a *ling*. The temple was then built, and the village of Chandeshwar was founded. It has a large well with wide open mouth so that a number of *kosa* [1] can work at one time.

Jaleshwar Mahadev.

A temple on Mount Abu with a *ling* near the source of the Saraswati river. It is dedicated to Mahadev and is greatly venerated by the Hindus.

Utkantheswar.

A *ling* shaped like a camel's foot, erected at Dhakjipur near Punadra in Thamna near the Vatrak river, twenty *kos* from the city. Utkantheswar is one of the names of Mahadev. It is said that a hermit's prayer brought this *ling* to light in the place which is now venerated by Brahmans and other Hindus, who in the month of Magh, when the Sun enters Capricorn, come in large bodies with offerings.

Ranchod Temple.

In Thasra, thirty *kos* from the city, is a temple which has an idol of Ranchod, one of the names of Krishna. This is how it left Dwarkan, its original site. A certain devotee of Krishna named Bodhana, of the tribe of Guglis, went to Dwarkan. Ranchod appeared to him in a vision and said "Take me home with thee." "How can I remove thee from this place; the priests and guards would not permit it," replied the devotee. "I shall make myself lighter. Thus thou must remove me. And fear not, for thou shalt be unseen by mortals." The devotee took the idol as directed and reached Dakor, his home, where it was set up and worshipped publicly. Now the idol remained visible to the priests at Dwarkan until the day of the devotee's safe entry at Dakor. When the news of its public worship at Dakor reached the priests, they sent a party to fetch the idol, for they had lost their means of livelihood. The devotee, through fear

[1] 'Kosa' (Gujarati)—a leather bag for drawing water from a well.

or being pre-warned by the god, threw the idol into the tank. The party searched in every nook and corner of the town, but in vain. They then entered the tank, and with the point of their lances began to feel in the water. Of a sudden something was struck, and soon the tank was full of blood, which is still to be seen. When the object struck was taken out it was Ranchod's idol, pierced in the chest, the mark whereof is still to be seen. A fight for the possession of it then ensued; but in the end it was decided to hand over the idol to whomsoever would give a lump of gold equal to the weight of the idol. The poor devotee now lost all hope, but it so happened that the scales turned against the Dwarkan party, for no amount of gold could weigh as much as the idol. Then Bodhana, the Gugli, as bidden in a vision, put his wife's nose-ring with some leaves of *Tulsi* in the scale, and lo! the idol was weighed. The party then left for Dwarkan lamenting the loss, but the God consoled them by pointing out another idol in the river Gomti at Dwarkan. It was taken out and placed in the vacant place.

This happened in 1212 of the Vikram era, about 600 years before the completion of this book in the Vikram year 1817 corresponding with 1175 A.H.[1]

The idol is clad in fine clothes with precious jewels. Large crowds of worshippers, from far and near, assemble with offerings in the month of Ashwin, when the Sun enters Virgo on the full moon day. In these days rain drops produce pearls in oysters.[2]

Shulpan Temple.

On the top of the Rajpipla hill dedicated to Shulpan, one of the names of Mahadev. People, going to bathe in the Narbada river, visit the temple under the guidance of the zamindar of the place. It is said that once in the year something like powdered sandalwood mixed with saffron is found sprinkled on stones at night, and is collected in the morning as a sacred relic and taken to distant lands.

[1] The Vikrama or Samvat year 1212 equals A.D. 1156, add 600, and we get 1756 A.D.; 1175 A.H., however, equals 1762 A.D.

[2] Eastern poetry considers that pearls are formed by the rain drops falling into the open oysters.

Kalka Bhavani.

Its temple is on the top of the Pawagadh mountain. Above it is the sanctuary of a sage named Sadan Shah. In the opinion of the Brahmans it is an important sacred place. People from far and wide go there to worship.

Amba.

Here is an idol attributed to Amba, one of the names of Bhavani; the temple is situated on a hill near Danta in the vicinity of Pargana Kheralu. It is one of the great temples of the Brahmans, and is visited twice a year—on the 27th of Shravan, and 6th of Bhadrapad. Rich offerings are made to Bhavani, who is a Goddess and therefore clad in women's gaudy dress and with ornaments. Some years before the present time the Rana of Udaipur, one of the noble Rajas of India, went to the temple barefooted and gave presents to the priests, and fixed an ornament of gold on the head of the idol.

Rudra Mala.[1]

At Sidhpur, Pattan Sarkar, on the banks of the river Saraswati. It was a stately temple built by Siddhraj Jaisingh and dedicated to Rudra, one of the names of Mahadev. With the rise of Islamic power its splendour and prestige departed, and the idols were removed by Sultan Ahmad, the founder of Ahmedabad. A mosque was built there and the ruins of the temple, which was built of stone, are still to be seen.

TEMPLES IN THE CITY AND ITS SUBURBS.

There are many temples within and without the city. I shall deal with the important ones only.

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[1] For the history of this celebrated temple, the ruins of which still exist, see *Baroda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 621. It was begun by Mulraj about 944 A.D., but remained incomplete and was never finished till the time of Jaisingh Siddhraj (who died 1143 A.D.). It was destroyed by Alf Khan about 1297 A.D., and further by Ahmad in 1415 A.D. Forbes describes the Rudra Mala in his *Ras Mala*, p. 195. For drawings see *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IX.

Ranchod.

Inside the Mandvi, to the south of Manekchowk, there is an image of stone dedicated to Ranchod and worshipped chiefly by the Banias and other craftsmen. Its followers have lately rebuilt it. The Brahmans have set up a new idol called Trikam near it.

Ranchod II.

Near Sarangpur gate in Daulatkhana lane. Formerly it was outside the city near the above mentioned gate in Ransari lane; but when the surrounding Pura became deserted, the idol was brought inside the city, and set up in beautiful temple by Santoji, brother of Sadashiv.

Ramchandra during his viceroyalty, and worshippers in the city, were asked to pay by way of charity for the upkeep of the temple.

Raghunath.

In Maja Patel's lane, reported to be one of the finest idols to be met with anywhere. It has images of Sita and Lakshman fixed on its right and left. In the month of Chaitra on Ram Naomi day worshippers, both male and female, flock there.

Chaturbhuj.

In Changpol lane, a black idol having four hands and heads, whence it is named Chaturbhuj.

Madan Mohan.

In Raja Mehta's lane, an idol of brass, having a small number of followers.

Gokal Chandrama.

In Raja Mehta's lane, from olden times kept in the house of one Raghunath Gosain. After the death of his son Brijnath it was removed to Dosiwara, to the house of one Brij Bhukan. Banias go there and worship it five times a day, providing also for its expenses.

Ramnath.

In Mandvi lane, Devsiri street, a cellar, where lamps are kept burning day and night. It is said to be one of the oldest idols in the city, and has been kept in the cellar from the time of the Muslim supremacy.

Bhairav.

Dedicated to Mahadev, in Sankrisere lane, made of brass, having four hands—and this is contrary to the usual practice of keeping a ling carved of stone as in all other temples of Mahadev.

Amba and Bechra.

In Changpol, a female image of stone. The temple is on the road side, and has a large crowd of worshippers, especially on Sundays. Votaries offer to the goddess precious ornaments and fine clothes. Another image is kept in Aka Seth's lane in Raypur ward in a cellar, where lamps are kept burning day and night.

Bechra.

In Taluja pol, near Sarangpur gate ; there is a niche for the goddess in the house of a Brahman woman who lived for a long time on milk only, worshipping the image. She remained in the cellar, and came out once a year in the month of Ashwin on Navratra days, that is, the nine days of fasting ; on the tenth day the ceremony of *Havan* is performed, which is a sort of burnt offering of oats, sesame, rice, and milk. It is said that the woman used to cut off her tongue and throw it on the fire ; but strange to say it was restored to her instantly ! Now-a-days she takes ordinary food, to preserve her health in her old age, but the mutilation of her tongue is performed by her as usual.

Another niche for the above goddess is in Dhal lane, near the Astodiya Chabutra. It is decorated with talc, and its votaries tell of many wonders performed there.

Tulsa Bhavani.

Three pieces of unhewed stone covered with gold, dedicated to Bhavani, kept in a niche in the upper story of a Bania's house. Strange stories are told about it also. Banias of the Manda caste worship it. And it so happens that on the fifth day of the months of Ashwin and Chaitra one of the favoured Banias is possessed of the goddess and acts as an oracle.

Ashapuri.

On Sankari road, a beautifully carved image of marble kept in a fine place built by one Kripashankar, a Vadnagara Nagar. The image is clad in fine clothes and ornaments.

The suburban temples.

Narsingh.

At Rajpur in Tulsi lane there is a temple; the image of Narsingh through fear of the Muslims, so they say, had been secretly preserved in an underground closet. Its devotees have reserved a space covered with marble, where they worship it and offer flowers and scent. Another temple of Narsingh is on the Chandula tank, where there is a small niche visited by some Hindus.

Chakeshwar.

Dedicated to Mahadev, outside the Rajpur gate. During the viceroyalty of Najm-ud-daula one Anand Ram built the temple and made a garden for it.

Kakreji Bhavani.

On the Kankariya tank a seat has been erected near the outlet supported by pillars, one of which is dedicated to Bhavani. Here Hindus come for worship.

Saindhwao.

In Mahmudabad, at a distance of three *kos*, there is a reservoir, which is supposed to be the abode of Bhavani. Hindus bathe here on sundays in the month of Shravan.

Hanuman.

At Sultanpur, a monstrous stone image of a monkey. From olden times it was kept buried in the ground, but Rinkoji Pandit, the Deputy of Damaji Rao Gaekwar, dug it out and built a temple for it. The Hindus worship it on Saturdays.

Nilkantheswar Mahadev.

A temple at Bistral in Pargana Haveli, three *kos* from the city, well-known from olden times; having a dome over it. Every year in the month of Shravan Hindus come and worship here.

Matar Bhavani.

A reservoir at Asarva in Pargana Haveli, half a *kos* from the city. It is said that before the city was founded an idol

worshipper was told in a vision to construct a reservoir on this spot. It has a niche where offerings are presented.

Dhanak Dhari.

In the suburbs of Nahrwala near Siddhpur, a dome with a niche, having an image of Bhavani in it. The Hindus of the village, particularly Kolis, believe in it and worship it in the month of Shravan.

Nilkanth Mahadev.

A *ling* in Asarwa, where worshippers have now built a temple.

The footprint of Acharya Gosain.

Acharya Gosain was the founder of Vaishnavism in Asarwa. The present Gosain is one of his descendants, and the Vaishnav Banias believe in him. Strange stories are told about the footprint. It is worshipped on the 9th day of Magh, which day is named *Ajhu*.

Ekling Bhavani.

A niche on the Dudhesar bridge on the Sabarmati near the Shahi garden. Sanyasis stay here day and night. On Sundays many people go and bathe, and consider the act meritorious. On special occasions all Hindus assemble here to bathe. They burn their dead also here; for the place is considered sacred.

Bhimnath Mahadev.

A dome near the Shahi garden on the river Sabarmati. Hindus bathe here during the whole month of Shravan.

Khadak Hareshwar Mahadev.

Near Muhammad Amin Khan's garden on the river Sabarmati; worshipped in the month of Shravan.

Hinglaj Bhavani.

A closed and hollow dome, with a very small niche with a lamp burning day and night. Nothing is seen inside the dome. Hindus come here for worship.

Sireshwar Mahadev.

At Ilampur, an old temple rebuilt by Shripat Rao, the Deputy of the Peshwa. It has a dome over it.

Thaneshwar Mahadev.

A five headed *ling*, called *Panch Mukhi*, at Majuri on the river Sabarmati; worshipped on the 5th day of Bhadrapad Shuddha called Rishi Panchami; and this worship is considered meritorious.

TIRTHS.

The Brahmans and their followers the Meshris, as opposed to the Shevras and Shravaks, are very careful about bathing. Every morning they bathe before worship; they take a bath before their meals. Bathing in tanks, and at the confluence of two rivers, is considered meritorious. There are many such bathing places; only the most important ones are given below.

Sagar.

The sea of Oman. The inhabitants on the seaside take a bath at the mouths of the rivers falling into the sea.

Saraswati.

One of the great *Tirths*. It is said that the river[1] issues in the east from the root of a banyan tree at Prayag; but, owing to causes given in their fabled stories, it disappears and emerges again at a distance. In this province it is first seen flowing from mountains of Sirohi and passes Siddhpur in the Pattan Sarkar. It disappears again at a distance of ten *kos* from Pattan, then emerges near Kodinar at Okha in Sorath divided into five channels, *viz.* Berachi, Sarsati, Hirna, Gomti, Kapila, and Darjini, half a *kos* from Somnath called also Bhalka Tirth. These five meet at the foot of Somnath, receive the name of Hirna, and fall into the ocean. Bathing in this river is considered meritorious, especially at Siddhpur and Bhalka Tirth. A large annual fair was held in Siddhpur, in the month of Kartik when the sun enters Libra on the full-moon day, when Hindus from all parts of the country assembled to bathe and distribute alms to the priests. The

[1] The Saraswati flows past Siddhpur and Pattan and loses itself in the Runn of Cutch. The Kathiawar streams are of course quite independent; our author's geography is sometimes a little strange. Siddhpur is the place where offerings to maternal ancestors have to be made—as those to paternal are made at Gaya or Prayag.

fair lasted for three days, and precious commodities, and horses, camels, and cattle, were sold. The writer of this book has himself seen this pleasant sight, but nowadays, owing to the disturbances in the country and the unsettled state of the Government, processions of pilgrims from Ahmedabad and other places have stopped, as well as business.

Narbada.

One of the great *Tirths.* Bathing in it is cosidered meritorious, especially in the month of Chaitra when the sun enters Aries on the night of the new moon, which generally corresponds with the days of *Biz,*[1] on the thirteenth and fourteenth of that month. Bathing in this river is at all times meritorious. Large crowds of men and women from these parts and the Deccan assemble at Karnali Chandod under Sinor, thirteen *kos* from Baroda, where the river is joined by a tributary named Or. They worship in Mahadev's temples on the bank, perform the *Shraddha* ceremony, and give presents in the shape of food, clothing, and cash, to the priests.

In Gujarat there are two famous *Tirths*; one the above mentioned 'Or Sangam' confluence of the Or river with the Narbada, and the other near Broach where the river enters the sea. The same sort of suicide as is mentioned in the account of Mount Girnar, called *Bhairav Jap*, is committed here by believers in the transmigration of souls, who tie a bag of rice round their necks and drown themselves. But some wicked Sanyasis and Yogis carry off with them beautiful damsels bathing in the river, thinking they would be wedded to them when reborn. The relatives of such maidens try their best to protect and save them from these fellows.

However, these *Tirths* are considered most sacred, and Brahmans have written a book on the subject dealing exhaustively with bathing.

Bhalka Tirth.

Half a *kos* from Somnath. It is also called Pipal Sar, for it is believed that the river Saraswati rises from the root of a

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1 بيض *biz* whiteness. The 12th and 13th or according to some the 13th, 14th and 15th days from the new moon, as being the brightest, are known as آيام البيض.

Pipal tree. It is said that in ancient times Krishna, while sleeping under that tree on a dark night, was shot in the heel by an archer, and breathed his last there. And so the spot is sacred to the Hindus, who go and bathe there. But regular processions on a particular day are not definitely prescribed.

Tirth at the junction of the Hirna and Saraswati near Somnath.

It is said that in ancient times the Yadavas, kinsmen of Krishna, fought together and were killed on that spot which is now called Yadav Sthali.[1]

Be-uth.[2]

The junction of seven streams. It is three *kos* from Dholka. The seven streams have separately been described previously.

The river Sabarmati and Dudeshwar.

On the river Sabar in Ahmedabad near the Bagh-i-Shahi, Dudeshwar was a Rishi who lived here. Bathing here is considered meritorious, and the Hindus of the city and the surrounding place come here for a bath and to burn their dead also.

Mahendari.

Better known as the river Mahi, near Cambay, where it enters the sea. The Hindus of the city and the neighbouring villages, as well as any pilgrims who pass by, bathe in the river.

Tapi.

In Surat; it is called Ashwini Kumar and here the river falls into the sea. Hindus bathe and burn[3] their dead here.

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[1] स्थळ place—the place of the Yadavs.

[2] In Gujarati *be* is two and *uth* is three and a half, and twice three and a half is seven.

[3] There is a Gujarati saying :—

ગંગાસ્નાને જમનાપાને રેવા સ્મરણે તાપી મરણે.

which indicates the special propitiousness of the Tapti for the cremation of the dead.

KUNDS[1] AND TANKS.

Every temple is either situated on a river or has a *kund*, or a tank for bathing. Below are mentioned some important tanks:—

Pindatarak and Girkailas:—Tanks already described in connection with Dwarkan.

Ganga and Jamna:—In the town of Una, Sarkar Sorath. They are springs which form a river; but lose their waters in the waves near Mangrol. Every year on a particular day sweet water gushes up, and a story is told by the Brahmans how in former times a hermit who required Ganges water got it from that spot on the particular day.

Damodhar:—On Mount Girnar, where there are many tanks. One has a cow's head covered with stone, from which water flows. The Damodhar tank is considered most sacred.

Luti Luti:—A *kund* like a well in Luti-Luti village, belonging to the Sarkar of Pattan. It has steps on all four sides, and the colour of its water is reddish like log wood. I have myself seen it on one of my journeys. They say that in the beginning of the rainy season the water takes its original colour. Hindus from villages and towns come here in procession, and have great faith in its sanctity.

Bechar Pond:—In Bechra's temple; said to have been visited in olden times by Rama, who married here, and erected a *Chaori* which they make on marriage occasions, the stone pillars of which still exist. The water is sweet and deep, and Hindus bathe here.

Kameshwar:—Three *kos* from Cambay, having a temple dedicated to Mahadev. It is a wide open well, with steps round it. On special days Hindus of the port and of Petlad and its surrounding villages go and bathe here.

Bindu Sarovar:—*Sarovar* means a tank; this tank is very large, and has a stone and cement pavement round it; it is called Bindu Sarovar. It has a temple dedicated to Mahadev on the river Saraswati in Siddhpur, Pattan Sarkar. Brahmans consider it most sacred, and equal to the *Tirth* at Saraswati.

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[1] A *Kund* is a small tank or reservoir the bottom and sides of which are paved—usually fed by a spring.

Sahasra Ling[1]:—In the old fort of Pattan, now in ruins. Siddhraj Jaising during his reign constructed such tanks with stone pavements round them. *Sahasra* in Sanskrit means one thousand. Mahadev like Bhavani has a thousand names, so Siddhraj built a thousand small temples—each having one seat for a worshipper—dedicated to Mahadev, with a *ling* in each of them. It was a place of worship, but during the ascendancy of the Muslims the tank dried up owing to the constant use of its water by men and animals. In the reign of Aurangzeb an item was earmarked in the budget for the cost of keeping the tank full of water; but now it has again dried up, and can be seen in this condition.

Hot and Cold Tirths.

A stream named Loni in the village of Tova Kakani, Pargana Godhra, which flows in the rainy season. There are thirty or forty vessels called *Kundas*, with holes in their bottoms, sunk in its bed. Hot, luke-warm, and sometimes cold, water gushes out from those vessels, providing a bath for the Hindus.

Lasundra.

There are about ten *Kundas* containing hot and cold water in Lasundra, Pargana Thamna, near Kapadvanj. They are filled by a brook running in the rainy season.

Tirth near Mul Dwarka.

A *kund* having hot water.

Deoki Unai.[2]

A *kund* of hot water near Gandevi of Navsari in Surat. On the last three days of the month of Chaitra, when the sun enters Aries, people coming from distant lands bathe here. In other

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1 See *Baroda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p.376. This famous tank is now silted up, and it was probably in the old days filled from time to time through channels that are long since cut off. The tank "is the theme of legend and song. The best known of these is the ballad of Jasma the beautiful Odani (porter)." The story has been told by Forbes in his *Ras Mala* (Vol. 1, p. 111).

2 See *Baroda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 683 "The springs are held to be as ancient as Rama."

days the water is so hot that one is hardly able to wash one's hands in it.

THE SHRAVAKS.

The Shravaks are spread throughout India, but I shall deal only with those who are found in this Province. Any one among the Banias who wishes to adopt the creed of the Shravaks is allowed to do so.

The Oswal and Shrimali Shravaks are considered the purest, for they have no admixture with the Meshris, who are mixed up with Purwals, better known as "two and a half Shravaks."

The Oswals are inhabitants of Osa in Marwar, and were originally Rajputs who had accepted the creed of the Shravaks in the manner narrated to me by Ratan Singh Bhandari, who was appointed to govern this Province on behalf of Maharaja Abhe Singh. Ratan Singh was a Rajput Shravak, and he told me the following story :

In bygone days a Shevra came to a village in Marwar. As there was no Shravak in the village of Rajputs the poor wanderer could not beg his bread, and had to pass the night without food. But it so happened that at midnight the son of the chief of the village was bitten by a snake, and was on the point of death. Now the Shevra knew how to cure him by a certain charm ; so he sent word to the chief that he could cure the patient if he (the chief) became a follower of the Shevras. His aim was to have some Shravaks in that village, who could look after the needs of wandering Shevras. The chief accepted the condition. The Shevra cured his son. In this way the chief and all the Rajputs of the village became followers of the Shevra.

Shravak Temples.

Shatranja :—In Palitana, Sarkar Sorath, a great temple on a mountain dedicated to Adishwar Rishabh deva. It is said that a Shravak Bania named Somji built the temple, spending seventeen lakhs of rupees. Shravaks of the city and the surrounding districts go there in procession for worship. Sometimes one of the rich of this community, starting on his pilgrimage, invites all other pilgrims to accompany him, paying the travelling expenses and so on, and thus spends a large amount of money, for which act he

receives the title of Sanghavi and is publicly honoured. Every year large sums are presented by devotees for the upkeep of the temple.

Nemnath :—A grand temple on Mount Girnar in Junagadh, dedicated to Bhimnath, tales about which it would be useless to tell ; and it would take too long.

Sankh[1] *Parasnath* :—A temple in Sankhera Kumnas Par Des, Pargana Munjpur, Sarkar Pattan, dedicated to Parasnath.

Ajitnath :—A temple in Pargana Kheralu on the top of the hill Taranga, dedicated to Ajitnath.

There are also eight temples on Mount Abu in Sirohi. Also in Kumbharia, near Amba, and the Meshri temples. There are five Shravak temples, and three in Kavi, Pargana Jambusar. There is another temple in Narora, Pargana Haveli, Ahmedabad, four *kos* from the city. Shravak men and women of the city go and worship there every year. And in Nawanagar are several temples where people go to worship.

In the city itself there are many underground closets, dug at great cost, where, through fear of the Muslims, many gigantic idols have been kept from olden times. Especially at Javahirpura, and in the houses where Shevras live, and which are called Pusals, such idols are found in large numbers. In my time Anandji Lalchand has made a wooden miniature of Shakhar, a famous Shravak temple in the eastern provinces. The figures of pilgrims, as well as of wild animals, are beautifully carved, and a large sum has been spent on the work. Those who cannot afford to go to the real temple, because of its distance, come and worship from as far as Surat and its neighbourhood.

Weights and Measures.

One Gujarati pakka seer[2] = 30 Alamgiri *dams* or 20 Shahajahani *dams*.

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[1] Gori Parasnath :—In Parkar Des, at the end of the Runn near Cutch, on the sea. It is a temple known as Gori Parasnakar, and men go there for worship with great difficulty.

[2] The seer generally used in Gujarat equals one pound and it is known as a kachcha or small seer. (Persian *Sir-i-kham.*) The *Sir-i-pukhta*, or pakka seer, is double the weight.

40 Kachcha seers	=One Gujarati maund.
40 Pakka seers	=One Shahajahani maund.

Weights in different towns differ slightly. Some of them are mentioned below :—

Paili:—A wooden measure, though not used in the city in other places is equal to 2½ seers or 5 kachcha seers. In some places it is equal to two seers or somewhat less. Half and quarter Pailis are also used.

Shahi=20 Pailis, and in some places =36 kachcha seers.

Kalsi=In Radhanpur and beyond it is equal to 16 kachcha maunds, but in other places 14 maunds and 16 seers.

Mondh=144 kachcha maunds, in most places; while in the city it equals 50 maunds—used for weighing lime.

Mat, (used in Navanagar)=6 Pailis; each Paili=5 seers of Navanagar=15 old Paisas. In the city Mat=30½ kachcha seers

Motla :—

6 Mat	=1 Shahi
4 Shahis	=1 Motla
4 Motlas	=1 Kalsi.
Haru Motla	=8 kachcha maunds.

Weights differ in Pargana Jambusar, Maqbulabad, and Baroda. But I could get no information about them.

Khandi=20 kachcha maunds— used in ports for freight.

Pahli=32 kachcha seers in Cambay.

Pahila=One maund and ten seers (kachcha).

Kantra=Five maunds and 10 seers in Cambay for paddy.

Bhar=16 maunds.

The *Kappan*,[1] or *Qappan*, is a kind of balance with an iron column with a pan on one side; and on the other side, in place of a pan there is a weighing piece suspended, and on this side lines are marked, and the weight of a thing is known from the position of the weighing piece. This instrument will weigh from one to twenty-eight maunds.

[1] A similar description of the Kappan is given in the *Farhang-i-Nasiri*. " Qappan kardan " is a common expression in Persia for weighing

On drugs and spices, etc. and their weight.

The Indians call these things *Kirana,* and a special measure is used for them, both in the city and in the ports. As these are goods for export, customers buy them according to the usual measure and then sell them with slightly deficient measures, thereby receiving some benefit. In the rainy season some of these things get wet or mixed up with rubbish and increase in weight, and hence undergo fluctuations. Tin and zinc, though not so affected, are also included.

On the weights of certain things and spices.

From old times in Ahmedabad and the ports, the articles which they call *Kirana* in Hindi have special measures. Traders bring them from the districts and purchasers buy them from the sellers by the weight they call *tol*, and sell them retail with more or less difference. There is no actual calculation, but an allowance is made to the purchaser for profit according to custom and what is estimated. Since most of these things get wet in the rains, and get mixed with rubbish, they increase in weight. If they take some things, such as tin and zinc, which are not affected by damp and rubbish still they get more. And there is no *tol* (weighing) for some things. And for fresh fruit and vegetables there are no fixed weights that have been ascertained at the time of writing or are current in Ahmedabad. Since the details of names of weights current are many I do not think it proper to write at length.

It should be known that for most things there are 42 units per maund, but in some a little more or less. Silk in the rains has 34 seers and at other times 42½.

Cardamoms have	42½	
Assafœtida	42	
Almonds	42½	
Tin, zinc and lead	40½	
,, *Behda*	40½	
Phitkari (Alum)	42½	
Pipal Mul	44	(Roots of Pipal tree).
,, (not cleared)..	48½	
Bankawa	42	

Myrabolams	42½	
Nutmegs	42	
Chul	42½	
Dates	42	
Cinnamon	42½	
Pepper	44	
Dhavri Patam	43	
Saffron	45	
Turmeric	42½	
Betel-nut	40,518	
Soranki	42½	
Sugar	40	
Sandal wood	42	
Honey	42	
Chillies	42	
Cloves	42	
Raisins	42	
Kusum	42½	(Flowers from which red *Kusumbi* colour is drawn).
Khar (Soda)	40½	
Kasis	42½	
Lodhra	48	
Dry grapes	42	
Wax	42½	
Manjitha	42½,	Uncleaned 48.
Gall nuts	42½	
Salt	44	
Sugarcandy	42½	
Nasphal	42½	
Black myrabolams	40½	

As regards fresh fruits and vegetables 110 are considered as one hundred, but plantains count 120. Brinjals, carrots and herbs, they sell by the forty seers.

Technical terms used by the cloth merchants and jewellers of the city.

Technical terms of the cloth merchants :—

Panleti	= ¼
Velmasil	= ½

Rakhpan	=	¾
Sank	=	1
Patakala	=	1¼
Sankar	=	1½
Patakala Jor	=	1¾
Joi	=	2
Rakh	=	3
Phuk	=	4
Bad	=	5
Dik	=	6
Pit	=	7
Manka	=	8
Gun	=	9
Sala	=	10
Akela	=	11
Jorla	=	12
Rakhla	=	13
Phokla	=	14 and so on adding *la* up to 19.
Kori	=	20 Silsank Kori or Rakhdehi = 30.
Kori Sank	=	21 (Jor Kori or phuk Dahi = 40, and so on adding *Kori* up to 49.)
Dahi	=	50 (Dik Dahi = 60 ; Pit Dahi = 70 Manka Dahi = 80 ; Gun Dahi = 90.)
Pharona	..	100 Kathma Kothli = 1000.

Terms used by jewellers.[1]

Sali	=	¼	Van	=	9
Sàli	=	½	Angal	=	10

[1] Inquiries made at Baroda and Bombay show that these words—most of which are still in use in western India—are derived from no particular language. The current belief is that they are coined for use by the traders in order to keep trade processes and calculations secret. Taking the jewellers terms we find there as some corroboration of this view from a consideration of certain of them. Thus *Earn* is an anvil of four sides, hence four *van* is an inversion of the common word for nine-*nav*. *Angal* is connected with the fingers—hence ten. *Kothali*, means a bag, and especially a bag of a thousand coins—*Kothali Santh* (bag rent) is the technical word for an annual payment made in compensation for land taken by the State. Most of the

Likhwa	= $\frac{3}{4}$	Kakra	= 11
Akra	= 1	Patar	= 12
Salayek	= $1\frac{1}{4}$	Nipar	= 13
Sankas	= $1\frac{1}{2}$	Chaupar	= 14
Mahani Likhwa ..	= $1\frac{3}{4}$	Mulpar	= 15
Samani	= 2	Pariri	= 16
Ekwai	= 3	Samarpari	= 17
Eran	= 4	Tahalpari	= 18
Mul	= 5	Wanpari	= 19
Sapar	= 6	Sut	= 20
Samar	= 7	Ekwadahi ..	= 30
Tahal	= 8	Erandahi	= 40
Mul Dahi ..	= 50	Sapardahi	= 60
Samar Dahi ..	= 70	Tahal Dahi ..	= 80
Van Dahi .	= 90	Pharona	= 100
Kathma Kothali ..	.. 1000		

Other technical terms used in the markets.

Nana, Akra, Vasur, and ber.
" Mata Baser Akra baosu " mean " rupees in cash."
Dokra—one hundred dokras they count one ruppee.
One paisa is called Tantu.
Ankhiya is one Tanka.
Ram = one anna.
Kaoli = means commission; Mahapar is buyer.
Dhakka is loss;
Jangad means things taken home on credit by the buyer.
Sangav, or Sunth, means take; Garayad means kind.
Sak means witness.
Choya = much; Choyamenchoya = very much.
Labh = profit; Lobh = avarice.
Vasun and Lobhun mean rupture.
Ralna means collection.
Uth = $3\frac{1}{2}$; Adhol = 1/16 of a kachcha seer.
Val = three mashas; Gadyana = six mashas.

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words are not to be found in the dictionaries, but Belsare's *Gujarati Dictionary* gives as one of the meaning of *mul* a covert term for five.

CHAPTER IV.

Government Officials and their appointments.

The Nazim[1]—Exclusive of his personal *mansab* and his having a contingent of 1,500 horse as Subadar, he receives 1,85,900 *dams*—1,80,000 as *inam* and the rest as *jahgir*—besides getting tribute from the Zamindars. Former Nazims used to get Rs. 2,40,000 as their salary. In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb there were 900 Mansabdars and a contingent of 26,030 horse, about a third of whom were reserved for active service in the field in accordance with the rules of enlistment. Similarly the Mansabdars, Faujdars, and Thanadars, leaving half of their forces on local duty joined the Nazim with the other half. Also the feudatory forces of the Rana Zamindars of Chhota Udaipur, Dongarpur, and Bansbala, followed the Nazim.

The Faujdar Gard :—Appointed by the Nazim for the defence of the suburbs and the administration of places near. His headquarters were in the redoubt of Nainpur, outside the Astodiya gate, towards the south of the city. The Nazims used to pay him up to Rs. 20,000. He was ordered to keep ready 500 horse, either as a regular force or from his own retinue. Half were utilised as patrols, and the rest stationed at the redout in the suburbs. On the death or transfer of the Nazim, the Faujdar Gard received an extra allowance of Rs. 5,000 from the Diwan of the Suba and looked after the management and defence of seventeen suburbs and eight villages of the Haveli Pargana.

Faujdar of Hajipur :—Outside the Idaria gate, towards the north of the city. He had a redout and worked under the Faujdar Gard with 35 cavalry and 220 infantry ; 5 horsemen and 100 infantry were stationed at outposts, while the rest, under the Faujdar, defended 13 suburbs and 2 villages.

Faujdar of Firozpur :—On the other side of the river Sabar, towards the rear of the city. He had a redout and worked under the Faujdar Gard with 50 cavalry and 150 infantry—50 reserved for the suburbs and outposts and the rest attending the Faujdar, who had to look after 100 suburbs and 6 villages.

[1] "The superior officer or governor of a province charged with the administration of criminal law and the police." (Wilson's Glossary.)

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Names of the 17 Outposts under the Faujdar Gard.

Chandola; Isanpur; Shahabari; Kasandra; Jitbagh; Rajpur; Jahangirpur; Dohadi; Polalitya; Nahrwal[1]; Adalaj; Saraspur; Dhanbao; Qasimpur; Kochrab; Sarkhej; Sula.

Thanas under the Faujdar Gard.

The villages of the Haveli Pargana had 32 Thanas to safeguard their roads and punish malefactors. One hundred and eighty-one villages are under their jurisdiction.

Thana means an enclosed quarter, where cavalry and infantry with muskets and cross bows are posted for the preservation of order, so that travellers and the inhabitants may live peacefully, undisturbed by evil-doers and robbers.

Thanas towards the east of the city.

Rakhyal :—½ a *kos* from the city. One horseman and 15 infantry, looking after 6 villages.

Ramol and Wastral :—4 *kos* from the city. Three horsemen and 5 infantry for 5 villages.

Nahrwala :— 3 *kos*. One horseman and 5 infantry for 2 villages.

Asarwa :—1½ *kos*. Formerly it had a redout. One horseman and 15 infantry for 5 villages.

Moleta :—Fifteen horse and thirty-four villages; footmen 3.

Bhuvalri Malu Medra :—4 *kos*. 58 horse infantry for 5 villages.

Bilad :—5 *kos*. 15 horse and 30 infantry for three villages.

Bhawalri Kanu :—5 *kos*. One horseman and 3 infantry for 6 villages.

Undrel :—7 *kos*. 2 horsemen and 5 infantry for itself.

Thanej :—5 *kos*. One horseman and 6 infantry for 6 villages.

Jhanjhar Bhawal :—7 *kos*. 2 horse and 15 infantry for 5 villages.

Panodra :—12 *kos*. Only one horseman for itself. Sometimes the Thanadar is appointed direct by the Government.

[1] Naroda.

Western Thanas on the other side of the Sabarmati.

Bijalpur :—2½ *kos.* 5 horsemen and 10 infantry for 5 villages.

Sarkhej Khattupur :—3 *kos.* 15 horse and 30 infantry for 7 villages.

Thalthej :—3 *kos.* 8 horses and 10 infantry for 9 villages.

Northern Thanas on the other side of the Sabarmati.

Kali :—Has a stronghold built by 'Azam Khan Udai[1] in the reign of the Emperor Shahjahan for defence against the Kolis of Tappa Chunwal and Pargana Kadi. 3 *kos* from the city, 10 horse and 8 infantry for 14 villages.

Oganaj :—4 *kos.* 5 horse and 8 infantry for 8 villages. It has a redout also.

Adalaj:—6 *kos.* 50 horse, 80 infantry for 4 villages.

Uvarsad :—7 *kos.* 50 horse, 10 infantry for itself.

Muzaffarpur :—Had an old stronghold which is now in ruins 6 *kos,* one horseman, one footman for its own defence.

Indrora :—Has a strong fortress built by Azam Khan Udai[1] on the river side. 8 *kos* from the city, 7 horse and 5 infantry for 3 villages. Sometimes the Thanadar is appointed direct by Government.

Southern Thanas.

Batwa :—3 *kos.* 10 horse and 20 infantry for 11 villages.

Faizabad, alias Shahbari :—3 *kos.* One horseman and 5 infantry for the village.

Izzatabad :—3½ *kos.* One horseman and 5 infantry for itself.

Kasandra :—7 *kos.* 10 horse and 10 infantry for five villages.

Aslali :—5 *kos.* One horseman and 5 infantry for three villages.

Bareja and Jaitalpur :—In Jaitalpur. The Naib Thanadar of Bareja lives here. 7 *kos,* 10 horse 15 infantry for 5 villages.

Navagam :—Had an old fortress, now in ruins. 12 *kos.* 7 horse and 12 infantry. Look after its own village.

Kanej :—9 *kos.* 20 cavalry and 30 infantry for 10 villages.

Nadej :—5 *kos.* 5 horse and 10 infantry for 4 villages.

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[1] Udai—the white ant. 'Azam Khan was viceroy 1635–1642 A.D., and is said to have got this nickname from his love of building.

Gharatabad-Rasulpur alias Bhanir :—Near Pargana Monda. In the reign of the Emperor Alamgir at the request of the people it was joined with Pargana Haveli. 17 *kos* from the city. One horseman only; looks after its own village.

As the Thanas are situated at a distance of one or two *kos* from each other, co-operation between them is easily managed.

The Diwan[1] *of the Province.*

He was appointed by Royal order, and received his *sanad* under the seal of the *Vazir*. He keeps one hundred horse; besides his personal *mansab*. He has civil powers, and a contingent of fifty cavalry in connection with Thanas Arjunpur and Khambali and an *inam*. He is assisted in his civil work by certain officials stationed in the province as stewards to carry out the Royal command. His duties are: collection of revenues of the crown lands and dues on charitable endowments; payment, under his signature, of salaries according to services rendered; and of the *Jagirs* having Royal *sanads* issued in the nine Sarkars paying tribute; and similar other duties in connection with taxation, receipts, and expenditure.

The Office Staff.

Peshkar or Secretary. Generally a Mansabdar, and appointed by the Emperor, receiving a *sanad* under the seal of the Diwan. In many cases private secretaries act as Peshkars.

Daroga :—A Mansabdar, receiving his *sanad* from the Diwan. He is a superintendent.

Mushrif :—Treasurer appointed by the Diwan on Rs. 40 per month. He is also in charge of stalls for selling *pan* leaves.

Tahvildar :—Cashier appointed by the Diwan on Rs. 40 per month. He also has to do with the *pan* leaves stalls.

The Office has a *Munshi* (Head clerk); Huzur clerk; Suba clerk; clerks for crown lands, *Tan* records, arrears, stipends,

[1] The Diwan of the Province—" Under the Muhammadan Government it (i.e. this title) was especially applied to the head financial minister of the State or of a province, being charged, in the latter, with the collection of the revenue, the remittance of it to the imperial treasury, and invested with extensive powers (judicial) in all civil and financial causes." (Wilson's Glossary.)

and cash ; accountant (on Rs. 100 per month) ; clerks for recording rates and news ; record keeper, and herald.

Judicial Department.

District Judge—' Sadr Kacheri-i-Sadarat :—He is appointed by the Sadr-us-Sudur (Chief Judicial functionary). Besides getting a personal *mansab* and emoluments he is a salaried officer of Rs. 50 and with ten horsemen. His duties are : checking the *sanads* of Qazis, Muhtasibs, Khatibs, Imams, Muezzins, and Mutawallis of the shrines ; issuing cheques for the stipends and daily allowances in the city and other towns ; passing bills for payment to charitable endowments.

The Qazi.

The Qazis for the Province and the town are appointed by the Sadr-us-Sudur, receiving their *sanads* from the office of the Sadr. The city Qazi, besides his personal *mansab* and emoluments, keeps 20 horse. The Qaziship of Sarkhej, trusteeship of the *Bait-ul-Mal*, and stewardship of the converts, also belong to him. But sometimes Sarkhej has a separate Qazi. The town Qazis receive daily allowances in cash and hold land for service. This is arranged according to local requirements.

Officers of the High Court.

The Court Vakil gets one rupee daily: three *Muftis* are Mansabdars ; three clerks for documentary work, having conditional *mansab* and eight annas daily allowance ; one accountant for the salaries of the converts gets eight annas per day. All these items are paid from the Royal treasury according to the *sanads*.

Muhtasib.

The Muhtasibs for the city and the towns are appointed from the Sadr's office according to the Royal *sanad*. The Muhtasib's personal rank is that of 250, and he has 10 horsemen, receiving also the assistance of some cavalry and infantry from the Nazim to help him to execute the commandments and prohibitions of the law. He also supervises weights and measures, etc. The Muhtasibs for the towns receive cash and land suited to the conditions of those places.

Bakhshis and Reporters.

Along with the chief Bakhshis (Paymasters) four Bakhshis are appointed by Royal mandate. Their personal rank is 500, with 50 cavalry. Reporters are sometimes appointed separately, but in some Parganas the Bakhshis' assistants discharge this duty, and the Bakhshi makes a summary of their reports and encloses it with the report for the city. The clerks attached to the courts of judicature and the Kotwal's office write a daily report. In some Parganas good reporters are appointed direct by the Huzur.

The Bakhshi also keeps records of confiscated *Jahgirs* of persons who are dead and fugitive and absentee Mansabdars, and presents them to the Diwan under his seal. Any Mansabdar who goes without first acquiring the Bakhshi's permission is marked absent. The envelopes containing reports and received through the postmaster are despatched with the mails to the Emperor.

Reporters of the Secret Service.

They are appointed for the Province and other Parganas throughout the kingdom, and are empowered to keep 20 horsemen for the additional duties of the Superintendent of Posts. Reporters of the Secret Service originated in this way. In former times the ordinary reporters were found making false reports; so these *Sawanih Nawis* (Reporters of the Secret Service) were secretly engaged in the Provinces to submit their own reports. But now they have to work as Postal Superintendents, and therefore they send their reports every week openly, enclosing letters, applications of the Nazims and the Diwans, Treasury account sheets, by the postmen who carry the mail bags from one station to the rest. They are opened in the superior's presence by the Daroga of posts. In the Parganas and subordinate courts the Reporters of the Secret Service appoint their own agents who deliver, to the Nazims and Revenue officers, the *farmans* and orders issued from the Khalisa office for the confiscation of the *Jahgirs* of the dead or of dismissed or run-away Jahgirdars. Whenever any mace bearer or *Ahadi* bearing Royal mandates or gifts is sent, the post master gives him a passport under his seal, so that he is conducted safely by the postmen, who procure provision, etc. for him from the Faujdars, or Zamindars, or

Thanadars, of their respective stations. On their return journey passports are issued by the Reporters of the Secret Service, and the above method is repeated.

Postal stations on the road to the Capital at Shahjahanabad (Delhi).

From Ahmedabad to Khandabpurani :—Postal stations are built from Ahmedabad right up to the frontier district of Khandabpurani, and they are thus connected with the stations of the province of Ajmir. Couriers are enjoined to go one *kos* per *ghadi*. One *kos* equals 200 *jaribs*, each *jarib* being equal to 25 yards (one yard = 42 inches); 5,000 Shah Jahani yards are equal to 200 *jaribs*. At every station the Faujdars, Thanadars, and Zamindars, keep scouts ready to escort the couriers without delay as soon as they arrive. Twelve days, in urgent cases one week, are allowed for the whole journey. Delay is punished by deducting one-fourth of their wages. Sixty-two couriers, in all receiving Rs. 250 per month, according to the provincial regulations, are engaged, and receive their salaries from the Royal treasury, their attendance being certified by the Diwan of the Province. Out of them two are diary writers, two heralds waiting on the Daroga, and the rest are reserved for the following Chokis; Kali; Adalaj; Pansar; Jornang; Mehsana; Bhandu; Unjha; Siddhpur; Bislaw; Halodi; town of Palanpur; Bhutari; Dantiwara; Khansowarai Pantiwara; Bant; Badhkanam; Dongri; Kudi; Bhilmal Sunt; Turna; Mudra; Jalur; Debadas; Bhurani; and Khandab; after which the couriers of the province of Ajmir carry the mails.

Stations Leading to the Deccan.

From the city to Broach :—

When the late Emperor Aurangzeb marched towards the Deccan postal arrangements were made for the transmission of news from Ahmedabad to Broach, and thence to Port Surat under the control of the Post Daroga. 25 men are appointed on Rs. 180-4-0 per montb, and, excluding two heralds and one diary writer who wait on the Inspector, all the rest are allotted to the following stations :

Batwa; Barejari; Kanij; town of Mahmudabad; Andhaj Salud; town of Nadiad; Boriavi; Hadgud; Basad; Ranoli; town of Baroda; Dhaniavi; Karvan; Choranda; Karmali; Broach.

Harkaras[1]:—Throughout the kingdom the Darogas appoint Harkaras, who are persons who acquire information and report to the Nazim. The Harkara also prepares a list of papers, and sends it with the mail bag to the Emperor. His agents, after the manner of the Reporters of the Secret Service, are stationed at the Court of the Nazim and with other officers. All these three officials are called *Akhbar Nawis.*

Branding Department.

The Amin, Daroga, and Mushrif, are appointed by the chief Bakhshi for the Province. The Amin, besides his personal *mansab*, is entitled to keep 10 horsemen; and the Daroga too is a Mansabdar. These two with the Mushrif, in former times, used to sit with their staff in the four-vaulted building in the market, marking the attendance of the horses, their trappings, and the equipage of the Mansabdars. Officers of the rank of 500 personal are exempted from the branding. Forces consist of one part of Moghals, Afghans, and Rajputs, respectively, two parts of archers, and one part of musketeers. Officers of the rank of 400 personal keep for themselves five Iraqi horses, one Turkish, and one hybrid; five coats of mail with helmets, one set of horse-armour. Those of the rank of 350 and 300 keep four horses and five coats of mail; while those of 150 have three horses and five armours. Mansabdars of the rank of 1,000 are entitled to keep 30 water carriers, farriers, pioneers, musketeers, and archers. Certificates signed by the Amin, the Daroga, and the Mushrif, used to be regularly issued, but after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb, when rules and regulations were uncared of and the Mansabdars were not given their due *jahgirs*, the Branding Department was abolished. And now even persons who know about this system are extinct!

[1] A person who does "all work"—a general factotum.

The Kotwal.

He receives his *sanad* from the master of the ordnance. Besides utilising 100 infantry under the Nazim of the Province, he is entitled to keep 50 horsemen. His monthly salary is Rs. 213. He appoints accountants on Rs. 40 for the *Pan* market and the Diwan's office, and signs their pay bills, which are cashed in the Royal treasury of the Suba. He also appoints mace-bearers, who guard their respective areas day and night. During the reign of Aurangzeb the Kotwals were generally appointed by the Emperor, but sometimes by the Nazim.

The four Treasury Departments.

1. The main or Royal Treasury which is called the House of Taxes; the taxes consist of the tributes from the Imperial Parganas, taxes on the property of Hindus, duties on cloth, cattle, etc.

2. *Bakaya* (arrears), whatever is due from officials, contractors, or on account of money advanced to tenants, belongs to this Treasury.

3. Treasury of Alms, consisting of *Zakat, i.e.* one rupee on every forty rupees, from the annual savings of a Muslim. Indigent persons who are entitled to receive alms are paid from this treasury.

4. Jaziya. As stated above whatever is collected from non-Muslim subjects belongs to this treasury, and is spent on charitable purposes and hereditary recipients. This branch was abolished after the martyrdom of the Emperor Farruksiyar.

Treasury Regulations.

In payments into the Treasury Rs. 6 per thousand less annas ten are deducted, at the rate of a *dam* per rupee. Six annas are charged also for the bag, annas two discount, annas two miscellaneous, and annas two for cash.

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[1] Peter Della Valle quaintly writes:—"There are other officers to assist them, which are called cut-walls (whose office is like that of our Sheriffs in England) and these have many substitutes under them whose business it is to apprehend, and to bring before the Judges such as are to be tried for things Criminal, or Capital, when the offender (as before) knows presently what will become of him."

Weight of the ashrafi and rupee.

The *ashrafi* weighs 11 *mashas* and the rupee 11½ *mashas.* Treasure is loaded in waggons, each carrying Rs. 40,005. The weight of one hundred thousand rupees is 34 maunds less 9 seers. Three waggons per one lakh are given—each drawn by one pair of oxen, and sometimes two pairs are used for safety.

Treasury Officers receive Court *sanads* signed by the Imperial Diwan in accordance with the Provincial Diwan's recommendation, and they are the following :—

'*Amin*'—A Mansabdar entitled to keep five *suwars.*

'*Daroga*'—A Mansabdar with additional duty as Daroga of Civil Court ; has ten *suwars* personal.

'*Mushrif*'—Whose duty it is to give receipts to the Mansabdars—gets Rs. 50 per mensem.

The Treasurer—Receives Rs. 80 per month, and his peons, five in all, get Rs. 20. All these have their pay bills signed by the Diwan of the Province.

Department of the Cloth Market.

This is also called *Sad Panj* or "Five per cent. Department" In former times duties on imports and exports were levied in the suburbs and at the Customs' offices, but in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, as mentioned above, Muslims, Christians, and Hindus, were taxed 2½, 3½, and 5 cent., respectively.

Officials.

They have their *sānads* signed by the Imperial Diwan in accordance with the Provincial recommendation. With the inception of the Department, *Amins*, *Mushrifs* and *Tahvildars*, were appointed. The *Amin*, who, besides his personal *mansab*, is entitled to keep ten horsemen, inspects merchandise. As the *Amin* was not able to look after the whole of the imports and exports, a Daroga was appointed, who, besides his personal *mansab*, is entitled to ten horsemen. Fifty peons, on Rs. 150 per month, were posted at the various stations, receiving their salaries from the Department of Customs.

Karora:—He was first appointed in place of a fraudulent Daroga in the last days of the Emperor Aurangzeb, during the

viceroyalty of Prince Muhammad Azah, but the post was abolished when the matter was again represented to the Emperor. He was again appointed in the reign of Bahadur Shah I ; he had no fixed status.

The *Mushrif* receives Rs. 65 per month, drawing his salary from the budget of this department.

The *Muqayyim* is an officer who fixes prices in the market suited to the various customers, from whom he receives 12 annas for every Rs. 100, and pays annually to the Government Rs. 1,000 which he deposits in the Royal treasury.

The *Tahvildar* gets Rs. 70 per month from customs receipts.

The *Qanungo* is a legal remembrancer, who has a sanad from the Emperor and receives his dues from customs receipts.

The 'Reporter.' His post was first created by the Emperor Babur for his kingdom. Later on *Sawanih Nawis* and *Harkaras* were also appointed, having their own agents.

Divisions belonging to the Cloth Market.

Outside the fort, near Nainpur, is situated the Kotha of Wahabgunj, where drugs imported from Surat were kept for want of sufficient space in the Cloth Market.

The agents of the *Mutasaddis* were posted here, who issued passes under the seal of the *Mutasaddi*, after duly entering the dues payable on the various articles; yarn and hides were also taxed similarly.

Customs stations for the Cloth Market.

Isanpur; Jitbagh; Nihali Chosar; Chandod; Kanej; Kasandara; Rajpur; Odheb; Jahangirpur; Rakhial; Saraspur Naherwala; Shahibagh; Adalaj; Shaikhpur; Santej; Sarkhej Shahabari; Odkamod.

Officers were appointed by the *Mutasaddis* for the above stations, and they collected the dues, issuing passes under the seal of the *Mutasaddi*, and then allowing the merchandise to pass.

Parganas and towns connected with the Cloth Market.

Parganas of Kapadwanj; Bara Sinor; Bahyal; Bisalnagar; Badnagar; Bijapur; Kheralu; Nadiad; Umreth; Kadi; Modasa;

Prantij; Ahmednagar; Mahmudabad; Arharmatar; Munda; Godhra; Sarnal; Baroda; Sinor; Savli; Songadh; Bahadurpur; Halol; Kalol; Dabhoi; Nandod; Thamna; Jhalavar; Idar; Dohad; Mehsana; and Kalol.

The agents of the *Mutasaddis* receive as dues 1/40 from Muslims and 12/40 from Hindus. The remaining Parganas are attached to the 'General District.'

Mahal-i-Sair (The General District).

The Persian of *Mandvi* is *Juba*; it means a place where commodities and corn, etc., are brought from outside and sold in the city.

Names of the Mandvis.

Bahrampur—with a tobacco stall; Firozpur; Bilaspur; Sultanganj; Shadmanpur; Nurullahpur; Jahanabad; Bakarabad; Bibipur; Farrukhabad; Sahibabad; Qasimabad; Bahadurganj; Rajpur; Afzalpur; Begampur; Sarkhej; Kanej; Nurabad.

Owing to depopulation above Mandvis no longer exist.

The stations and districts of the General District are the same as the divisions of the Cloth Market.

Officials.

When receipts go to the Imperial Government appointments are made by that Government.

Daroga :—His post is attached to the Provincial Diwan's Office; the salary is Rs. 500 per month. Peons for collecting taxes are placed under him.

Amin :—Without a fixed *mansab*.

Karora :—He has a *mansab*, and is often appointed by Provincial Governments.

Mushrif :—On Rs. 130 per month. As a large number of deputies are required for the Mandvis salaries are high. Sometimes one officer is appointed for both the Cloth Market and the General District.

Tahvildar:—On Rs. 20. *Qanungo* :—Mandvis have many *Qanungos* on small salaries.

There is one Reporter for both; when the General District

is included in the *jahgir* of the Nazim of the Province he has his own men.

The Peth stations—market for cattle, slaves, etc.—form part of the General District, and have no separate income. They are under the Nazim for the General District.

Taxes are collected thus:—1/40 from Muslims, 2/40 and 3½ per cent. from Hindus and Christians, respectively. 4 per cent. is charged from non-Muslims outside Muslim jurisdiction.

Officials:—When the Department is Imperial, officers are appointed by the Imperial Government.

The *Daroga* is a Mansabdar for collecting taxes, receiving Rs. 70 per month. He has an establishment of peons.

Mushrif on Rs. 35. His pay as well as that of his peons is entered in the account of the division.

The *Amin* has no fixed *mansab*, and the *Tahvildar* is the same officer that works in the Cloth Market.

Jewel Market.

Including ivory and wood-work, etc. Taxes are 1/40 and 2/40, besides brokerage on jewels at the rate of Re. 1-4-0 per cent. The total income amounts to 1,00,000 *dams*. Officials are appointed by the Imperial Office. The *Daroga*, *Amin*, and *Karora*, have no fixed *mansab* and are appointed by the Provincial Government. The *Mushrif* on Rs. 30, and *Tahvildar* on Rs. 40, are attached to the Department of the Mint.

Mint.

Silver tax 1/40 and 2/40; and the total income = 61,74,500 *dams* The officers are appointed by the Emperor. The *Daroga*, *Amin*, and *Karora*, have no fixed *mansab*, and are often appointed by the Provincial Government. A Mushrif on Rs. 30, and *Tahvildar*, are attached to the Jewel Market. There are a weigher on Rs. 3; assayer on Rs. 4; two porters on Rs. 4.

Pan Market.

Under the Kotwal, with an income of Rs. 1,14,000 *dams*. Officers are appointed by the Provincial Government.

The *Mushrif* and *Tahvildar* are attached to the Civil Record Office.

The *Daroga* and *Amin* (unconditional Mansabdars), and the Karora, appointed by the Provincial Government.

The rent received from certain shops has been, from old times, spent on the poor, whose stipends are distributed by the Provincial Government as proposed by the Court. The total income from this source is 1,91,000 *dams*. The staff is appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. The *Daroga* and *Amin* have no fixed *mansab*; the *Karora* is appointed by the Provincial Government. There is also a *Mushrif* on Rs. 10, and he has the additional duty of passing receipts for the staff of the mosques; also a *Tahvildar* on Rs. 4.

Department for the purchase of horses for His Majesty.

As Kachchi horses are bred here, an experienced Daroga is appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* for the selection and purchase of horses for His Majesty. The cost is met by the Imperial Treasury under the orders of the Provincial Government. Sometimes the *Daroga* for the purchase of horses is the same as the *Daroga* for the Cattle Market. Halting allowances during a stay in Ahmedabad, and travelling allowances, are paid by the Imperial Treasury. The *Daroga* is an unconditional Mansabdar. There is also a *Tahvildar* on Rs. 8.

Wardrobe.

Royal orders for cloth for embroidery and brocade are executed according to the lists sent. Payments are made by the Royal Treasury. A staff is appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. The *Daroga* and *Amin* are unconditional Mansabdars; and there are a Mushrif on Rs. 60, *Tahvildar* on Rs. 35, embroiderer on Rs. 8, ten peons on Rs. 31-12-0.

Gardens.

Bagh-i-Ghuslkhana near the Bhadar Citadel; Bagh-i-Shahi; Karez-bazar; Gulab Bagh; Rustam Bagh; Nagina Bagh; Bagh-i-Haveli; Bagh-i-Daulatkhana at one end of the buildings known as Haveli-i-Shah Jahan; Shahbari Bagh, near Cham-

paner; Bagh-i-Sha'ban; Jitbari, near Jetalpur; Bagh-i-Firdaus; Fateh Bagh. The income of these gardens is budgetted for in the Provincial account. Deficits are paid by the treasury. The staff is appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. The *Darora* and *Amin* are unconditional Mansabdars; the *Karora* is appointed by the Provincial Government. There are, too, a *Mushrif* on Rs. 20; *Tahvildar* on Rs. 35; Gardeners, 95 in all.

Bait-ul-mal.

This contains whatever is collected from unclaimed property and the confiscation of *mansabs.* Its staff is appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. There are a Daroga (unconditional Mansabdar), and the Amin attached to the Qazi's Department. The Mushrif is on Rs. 35; one Farrash on Rs. 7.

Myrobalam confection despatch office.

There are two very old myrobalam trees at Rakhial. In the course of time one died, the other has been seen by the writer who has tasted its confection; it, too, is now dead. The trees were enclosed within four walls of burnt brick with a large well. Confection was annually sent to the Emperor; and the above village was assigned for expenditure on this object. The Champaner garden had also some such trees. The staff was appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. The Daroga was an unconditional Mansabdar; there were paid guards.

Naqqarakhana and Ghariyalkhana.

From olden times the Naqqarakhana was located on the gate of the Bhadar Fort, where drums were beaten. Officials are appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. The Daroga is an unconditional Mansabdar, and the Mushrif is the man attached to the Bait-ul-mal. The drummers are 14 in number, on Rs. 31-12-0; gong strikers, 2 in number, on Rs. 6.

Buildings.

For ordinary repairs of the fortifications and the houses in the Royal gardens, the Provincial Government, under the seal of the

Daroga, sanctions expenditure; but if the matter is worth reporting to the Emperor, the Provincial Government does it and gets orders. Officials are appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. These are a Daroga—an unconditional Mansabdar; a Mushrif on Rs. 35; Tahvildar on Rs. 20; masons and carpenters.

Artillery.

There were some old guns with balls and powder, but owing to mismanagement and usurpation by the Nazims they are now lost, except some worthless ones. Officials were appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. There were a Daroga, an unconditional Mansabdar; Mushrif attached to the Bait-ul-mal; and a Tahvildar.

Balghur Khana.

Called also Langarkhana, where a sum of Rs. 50 is spent daily on bread and in cash payments. The office gets its money from the Treasury. Some of the alms receivers get corn and cash besides the above help, as sanctioned by the Head of the Provincial Government. Rs. 5 daily are reserved for the Dargah of Hazrat-i-Shah Alam; Rs. 2 for Pattan Langar (distribution of alms); Rs. 1-3-0 for Shah Wajih-ud-din's Dargah; Rs. 2 for Hidayat Bakhshi's school. The rest is spent by Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan, who distributes cooked food and cash to the poor and to travellers before the Mausoleum of Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat. Officials are appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. The Amins and Daroga are unconditional Mansabdars; the Mushrif receives Rs. 4. The Mutawalli of the Mausoleum of Sultan Ahmad sometimes combines the duty of Daroga with his other duties.

Hospitals.

For the sick and those who cannot maintain themselves.

Officials are appointed under the seal of the Chief Hakim, who acts as Daroga, an unconditional Mansabdar. The physician at the tomb of Shah Wajih-ud-din gets annas ten daily.

The Mushrif is the one attached to the Bait-ul-mal. The

Tahvildar is attached to the shop-rent department. There were two Indian physicians for Hindus; one gets annas eight per day and the same amount for medicine, and other annas ten daily. A surgeon receives annas eight per day. A sum of Rs. 2,000, drawn from the treasury, is annually spent on medicine and food for poor patients.

Yuzkhana or Cheetah establishment.

The *Cheetahs* found in Islamnagar, Palanpur, and Kankrej are of a superior kind, and a huntsman with staff is appointed for catching and training the *Cheetahs*. The Diwan of the Province pays the expenses from the treasury according to the pay bill signed by the Daroga. There is a Daroga, an unconditional Mansabdar; the Mushrif and Tahvildar are those included in the office of the Bait-ul-mal. Twenty-two hunters on Rs. 80 are maintained.

Distribution of robes and blankets.

The Emperor Aurangzeb was pleased to sanction an annual grant of Rs. 1,500 for clothing for the poor and needy in winter. Officials are appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman* and approved by the Provincial Government. The Daroga is an unconditional Mansabdar. The Mushrif and Tahvildar are selected by the Provincial Government.

Expenses incurred on the nights of the 11th and 12th.

In the reign of the late Muhammad Shah Rs. 112 for expenditure on the night of the nativity of the Prophet, and Rs. 111 for the anniversary of saint Ghaus-ul-'Azam (Abdul Qadir of Gilan) were sanctioned. Officials are appointed under the seal of the *Mir-i-Saman*. The Mutawalli is Daroga; the Amin an unconditional Mansabdar. One person is both Mushrif and Tahvildar, and he receives Rs. 14 as pay.

CHAPTER V.

The Sarkars and Parganas of the Province of Ahmedabad, with a list of villages, their income, and the Faujdars and Thanadars with their contingents.

In the time of the Sultans of Gujarat, the Province of Gujarat consisted of 25 Sarkars, but Akbar after conquering it divided it into 16 Sarkars as mentioned in the Introduction—six of them pay tribute and the rest revenue. As, owing to mismanagement and the incursions of the Marathas, the Revenue Department does not now receive regular files from the districts showing accounts of newly populated or ruined villages, I have given below what I have copied from the record for the Turkish year [1] *Takhaqu il, i.e.* 1161 Fasli, or 1166 A.H.

I. *Ahmedabad Sarkar.*

Ahmedabad consists of 33 divisions,[2] two of which belong to the city. A description of the city and of the mint has already been given in the previous chapter; the remaining divisions are given below.

Pargana Haveli: consists of 193 villages in twelve groups, forming one division with 12 outposts. This Pargana was formed in the following manner. When Sultan Ahmad laid the foundation of this great city close by Asawal, some of the neighbouring [3]

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[1] Year of the Cock. The Tatar cycle of 12 years was introduced by the Mughal emperors. Each year was named from an animal, thus: *Sihqán il,* year of the mouse; *át il,* horse; *takháqu il,* cock, etc.

[2] Persian محال *mahál,* which is the plural of محل *mahall,* a place. The word however is used for a fiscal division, whether territorial or not. Thus each Pargana has so many divisions with separate accounts: so too have other heads of revenue, such as the Port of Surat, or the Customs Department.

[3] There must be many errors in the long lists of villages in this chapter. Many of the names cannot, now be identified. Some places have doubtless become waste and disappeared, owing to political disturbances and economic causes. Others have changed their names. Many mistakes too must have occurred in copying down names, either in the original work or in copies of it; the Persian character makes this a very probable occurrence. Finally, it must be remembered that our author has obtained his information from a record which had probably already become very incorrect. Lists of villages—known in Gujarat as *Dehjhadas* —were always maintained, but they were commonly taken from older records without personal verification.

villages such as Astodiya, Asarwa, Khamandrol, and Rakhial, were included in the city and its suburbs. Then, Asawal and Manjhuri being raised to the status of suburbs, the Sultan was pleased to order that the villages of Khamandrol, Asarwa, Aspur, Chandloria, and Ghatloria (near Asawal), extending to a distance of ten *kos*, and bounded by Pargana Bahial on the east, Viramgam on the west, Dholka on the south, and Kadi on the north, be formed into one Pargana named Haveli Pargana.

Names of the Head Villages of the Twelve Groups.—Rakhial; Rajpur; Bagh-i-Firdaus; Khamandrol; Naginai; Shaikhpur; Nadichah; Nadi Ret; Usmanpur; Daryapur; Jhundao; Changezpur.

The remaining 181 villages yield an annual income of 33,488,053 *dams*—forty *dams* equalling one rupee. The Faujdars and Thanadars of the Pargana are under the Fauzdar *Gard*.

Pargana Arharmatar—12 *kos* from Ahmedabad towards the south-west, forming one division. In olden times Arhar was the chief town, but when the centre of population was shifted to Matar the two names were combined and the Pargana was called Arharmatar. It has 69 villages with an income of 20,082,798 *dams*, and has a Faujdar, who with one hundred horsemen (without contingent), controls eight Thanas, namely, Libasi; Mankoh. Komamodij; Khomanwar; Siyuj Boriavi; Shamspur; and Kodali. Ten extra Thanadars are appointed by the Emperor for the above Pargana, as recommended by the Nazims and Diwan; They are as follows :—

Khera—50 horse (conditional) ; Thana.

Baori—10 horse.

Thana Jejka—15 horse.

Thana Pilara—100 horse, personal.

Thana Ratanpur—50 personal, 35 horse.

Thanas Chil, Sirdij, and Lakhoda, have 50 personal, and 100 horse.

Thana Kirmala—50 horse.

Thana Dihgam Karwa—50 horse.

Pargana Azamabad, 40 *kos* from Ahmedabad towards the east, has one division. In the reign of the Emperor Shahjahan Azam Khan Udai built a strong fort on the bank of the river

Vatrak to keep the rebellious Kolis under control, and, attaching to it twelve villages of Pargana Bahial and Kapadwanj, reported the matter to the Emperor. A separate Pargana was, therefore, created, with Thanas in 12 villages, having an income of 15,61,000 *dams*, and a Fort Commander and a Faujdar with 500 horsemen.

The Thana of Islamabad, better known as Nadiad, had 200 horse, and the Thana of Attarsumba was attached to it. The Zamindars of Attarsumba, Mandva, Haldarwas, and Ghorasar, and some others, in order to preserve their rights, embraced Islam in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Gujarati, and the Sultan, because they had done this, left all their villages with them and accepted a fixed annual *Nazrana*. The descendants of these Zamindars are now nominally called Muslims, but they are really strangers to the Faith.

Pargana Idar.—45 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the north-east. It is bounded by the territory of the Zamindars of Udaipur, Dongarpur, and Danta. It has an old fort on the top of a hill, and streams running through the town and its suburbs. The district consists of 768 villages, besides 290 others belonging to the Zamindars as waste lands and inams. The Nazim receives tribute from the Zamindars. The others, 47 in number, yield an income of 10,00,000 *dams* with 20 lakhs as *Inam*. The following Thanas are attached to them, namely, Taodi; Adalim; Sarodi; Rupal; Basi; Medha; Giloda; Sanhali; Angadh; and Bhilwara.

Pargana Ahmednagar.—35 *kos* from the city, between east and north. It has a strong fort built by Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat on the river Hatmati (as already mentioned in the chapter on the reign of the Sultan) to keep the Rao of Idar under control. The district consists of 47 villages with a revenue of 29,90,200 *dams*. The Faujdar maintains 120 cavalry (conditional), having the Thanas of Daud (which has a stone fort), Ghir, and two sub thanas named Sirath.

Pargana Bahial.—12 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the east. It had an old fort for the Faujdar—now in ruins. There were 84 villages, but in the course of time eight of them have been attached to Pargana Azamabad, and the rest had a revenue of 18,07,689

dams. Its Faujdari is attached to that of Azamabad, with 700 horsemen (conditional). It has 12 Thanas as under :—

Komed—200 personal ; 50 horse.
Kulij (under Yaumol)—100 horse.
Amliara (with a fort)—500 horse.
Sanpa—50 horse.
Two Thanas Bhanoi and Bhaura—80 horse.
Sirath, near Kalol—100.
Antoli—50 personal ; 100.
Badlij—100.
Lohar—50.

Pargana Balasinor.—30 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the east; forms one division. In the days of old it had no fort, but, in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi, being appointed local officer, built a rampart round the town and a citadel for the Faujdar, and founded another small fort where the highway robbers lived—now known as Salabat-nagar. It has 49 villages, and a town, with a revenue of 3,387,659 *dams.* The Faujdar keeps 100 cavalry (conditional).

Pargana Prantej.—20 *kos* north-east from Ahmedabad. The Faujdar's stronghold is in ruins. It has 84 villages. Revenue 3,781,500 *dams.* The Faujdar has 200 horse, conditional, with the commandantship of Daulatabad and the Thana of Lojhdarat.

Pargana Birpur.—40 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the east on the bank of the Baoli river; founded by one Bira Koli. It has 145 villages, 7 of which are under the Zamindars, and the rest give a revenue of 30,06,869 *dams.* The Faujdari with the Thanas of Forts—Kareth, Dhamod, Panudara,—has 100 horsemen (conditional).

Pargana Piplod.—15 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the east. A district with a stronghold for the Faujdar: it has 11 villages, revenue 1,497,750 *dams.* The Faujdari is attached to the Thana of Dharisana, and has 50 horse (conditional).

Pargana Viramgam, better known as Jhalawar.—20 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the west. In former days the chief town was Mandal, then the headquarters were removed to Viramgam. Jhalawar is inhabited by Rajputs, about whom strange stories are told. The rampart wall of Viramgam was built in the reign of the

Emperor Muhammad Shah (*vide* his reign) by Udekaran Desai during the rebellion of Hamid Khan. As Viramgam is inhabited by Rajputs, and as its boundary touches the land of the Kathi robbers, an expeditionary force used to be sent to collect the taxes. So the Pargana was given as a conditional *Jahgir* to the Nazim of the Province. In the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, during the viceroyalty of Asaf Khan, the Pargana was made Khalsa in exchange for Dholka. It had a Faujdar, and consisted of 628 villages, 105 of which remained in the hands of the Zamindars; the rest had a revenue of 2,38,61,871 *dams*, including duties on salt, excise, etc. It had three Thanas—Chunwal under Kadi; Shahpur, better known as Chuda; and Ranpur. As the Pargana was generally part of the *Jahgir* of the Nazim, it had to furnish no separate contingent.

Pargana Thamna.—28 *kos* south-east from Ahmedabad, one division. It has a Faujdar. The village of Alina was under its jurisdiction for a considerable time. It has 39 villages. Revenue 1,14,50,380 *dams*. Thanas as under :—

Alina ; Torpa (the seat of the Faujdari) ; Punadra or Islamabad under Azamabad, with 200 horse ; Sarsemni (long since deserted) ; Somnath, 200 horse ; Sanoda, 80 horse (conditional).

Pargana Chorasi.—32 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the south, with Cambay [1] and Ghoga ports, forming three divisions. Cambay is an ancient town with strong fortifications. The Faujdar and Mutasaddi is appointed under the Royal *sanad* by the Diwan. The Pargana contains 87 villages yielding 345,96,272 *dams*. The Faujdar has 100 horse (conditional) in addition to the Mutasaddiship. The Thanadari of the fort of Kajna—150 horse ; Dhawan under conditional Thanas 170 horse ; Napad (its fortress was built by Muhammad Ashraf Ghori), in addition to the Thanas of Mahun, Wahi and Baman, has 150 horse ; Badsara, 100 personal and 50 horse ; Matil 50 personal, 100 horse ; Ghada 50 horse, and Bistana 50 horse.

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[1] Cambay was a famous port and is described by most of the European travellers. For a quaint description see the letter of Peter Della Valle written from Surat 22 March, 1623 A.D. Peter was not particularly sympathetic. "The people of Cambay," he writes " are most part Gentiles ; and here more than elsewhere, their vain superstitions are observed with rigor."

Port officials according to the Royal *sanad*:—The Mutasaddi and Faujdar; The duties of the Mutasaddi and Faujdar, porterage and supervision of the ports of Ghoga and Kandhar, are entrusted to one person. The Qazi, Muhtasib, Daroga of the mint, accountant, treasurer, and the treasury officer, are appointed separately by the Emperor. Often the Mutasaddi is the Daroga of the mint. and the court of this place is under the Chief Provincial Court.

Divisions connected with the Mutasaddi. The Port, where imports and exports are taxed; its receipts are accounted for in the public treasury. A subordinate officer, the *Mir-i-Bahr* takes the dues on articles brought by land and looks after the marts of cotton, oil, and salt. Rates are fixed under the seal of the Mutasaddi, the accountant, and the treasurer, and signed by the controller, and then sanctioned for the whole country.

Gogha Port:—Situated on the open sea, where big ships, which cannot enter the port of Cambay, anchor, and the cargoes are landed by lighters. The Naib of Cambay then collects the dues.

Pargana Petlad:—30 *kos* south of Ahmedabad; a district with a fort for the Faujdar. In the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, after the death of Najm-ud-daula, when the Marathas conquered the district, the fort was destroyed. Petlad is one of the best Parganas, and was often made *khalsa* in the reign of Aurangzeb. During the time of Muhammad Shah its revenues were earmarked for the salaries of the royal artillery. It consists of 248 villages, with a revenue of 4,62,31,360 *dams*. Cotton duties on the town and village of Sojitra are included in the revenues of the Pargana. There are 12 Thanas as under:—

Khatar; Saloli; Nar; Sarnij; Sojitra; Kava; Makror; Basad; Aras; Anklas; Bhadran; Borsad; Madanpur. At them are stationed 750 cavalry (conditional) and there are three other Imperial Thanas, namely, Bilbao, 500 cavalry; Basad; Bayara, 150 horsemen (conditional).

Pargana Jhalabara:—12 *kos* north-east from Ahmedabad. One division with 70 villages. Revenue 3,835,000 *dams*. It has a Faujdar, with a fort called Islamabad or Sadra, having 170 horsemen (conditional). The Thana of Jahorbama has a separate force of 100 horse (conditional).

Pargana Haidarabad :—16 *kos* south of Ahmedabad. One division, consisting of the town itself only. Revenue 344,489 *dams*. Has no contingent.

Pargana Dholka :—12 *kos* south-west from Ahmedabad. One division—*khalsa* from olden times. In the reign of Muhammad Shah Asaf Jah took it in his unconditional *Jahgir*, and so Viramgam was made *khalsa* instead. Generally the Amin and the Faujdar are appointed by the Imperial Government, but sometimes these duties are same to the Provincial Diwan. It has 235 villages; Revenue 21,799,097 *dams*. The Amin has eighty horsemen (conditional). The Thanas are as follows :—

Koth; Gondi; Sanand; Tandudara; Ratanpur; Salura; Bhat; Taraj; Hariala; Chansar; and Cherara—all under a Faujdar with no contingent. The five per cent customs receipts are included in the revenue of the Pargana.

Pargana Dhanduka :—32 *kos* south-west from Ahmedabad, on the river Dhandar. One division with a Faujdar, and often included in the conditional *Jahgir* of the Nazims. It consists of 123 villages; Revenue 8,828,650 *dams*. It has no separate contingent for the Nazim's *Jahgir*.

Pargana Sarmal or Thasra :—30 *kos* south-east from Ahmedabad on the river Mahi. One division of 38 villages. Revenue 5,131,760 *dams*. It has a Faujdar, stationed at the Thana of Barsi where the river Mahi flows. He has 20 horsemen and the Thana of Jerkal with 250 cavalry (conditional).

Pargana Shahjahanpur or Kanira :—17 *kos* from Ahmedabad. One division, consisting of the town only with a revenue of 635,423 *dams*. The Faujdar has 25 cavalry (conditional).

Pargana Kapadvanj :—19 *kos* from Ahmedābad on the east, one division. Round the town is a rampart facing the river Mohar. The Pargana consists of 36 villages, two of which are in ruins and the rest yield a revenue of 4,851,027 *dams*. Its Faujdar is generally attached to that of Azamabad, having 700 cavalry (conditional), with the Thanas of Kathnal; Bhanaira; and Ania. The Thana of Jaipal is under the Thana of Pamol, and has no contingent.

Pargana Kadi :—17 *kos* north of Ahmedabad. One division, with an old stronghold now in ruins. In the year 1017 A.H.

during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir, when Murtaza[1] Khan Bukhari was Viceroy this solid strong fort was rebuilt. Its gate has the following inscription carved on it:—

Murtaza Khan the Empire's Splendour.
Pride of the Realm, the Faith's Defender.
His is the Banner Fortune raises,
Earning the mead of all men's praises.
His is the Sword; and by his Pen
Strong is the Faith of Muslim men.
Whenever Fate's decrees oppress,
His is the Name the people bless.
His is the Writing o'er these walls.
"Bokhara's Fort"[2] the date recalls.

During the viceroyalty of Jawanmard Khan, Safdar Khan Babi built a rampart wall of bricks round the town. The Pargana has 282 villages. Its revenue is 5,69,00,972 *dams.* As Patta Chunwal in the Pargana of Viramgam is adjacent to it, 200 horsemen are posted at Kadi and Chunwal respectively for the subjugation of the Kolis.

Conditional Imperial Thanas are as under:—

Alwa Sadra, has a fortress with 50 personal and 150 horse. Pethapur and Pipalpur, 133 horse, had a stronghold made of bricks which was ruined by the Zamindar of the place and then converted into shops. Kalol, 100 cavalry; Chorang, 100; Sonser, 60; Balwah, nil; Khorij, 100; Gojaria, 100; Hardi, nil; Mehsana, 200 personal and 200 horse; Pansar, 50; Basai Dabla, 100 personal, 20 horse. As many villages of Kadi are inhabited by Kolis, as many Thanas as are required have been sanctioned.

Pargana Modasa and Makhrej:—45 *kos* north-east from Ahmedabad between the rivers Majham and Vatrak. Two divisions with 208 villages—163 in Modasa an 45 in Makhrej. Total revenue 81,35,049 *dams.* Its Faujdar (with the Thanas of Baberjoyla; Bhilora; Makhrej; and Suri) draws his salary from the Thana of Amliara in the district of Bahial.

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[1] Murtaza Khan Bukhari was Viceroy (1606–1609 A.D.) at the beginning of the reign of Jahangir.

[2] قلعه بخاري gives the date 1018 A.H.

Pargana Mahmudabad :—12 *kos* south of Ahmedabad on the river Vatrak. Founded by Sultan Mahmud Begada, and named after him. It had beautiful palaces and was made his capital by Sultan Mahmud II, who built a palace called the 'deer[1] house.' It is one division of 12 villages ; revenue 32,45,700 *dams*. Its Faujdari is not independent, but is attached to the Thanas of Nainpur and Khanjani, with the addition of a *Jahgir*.

Pargana Mamurabad :—20 *kos* east of Ahmedabad. Has a stronghold at the confluence of the rivers Vatrak and Majham. One division of 43 villages ; revenue 28,33,300 *dams*. Its Faujdari, with the Thanas of Antroli and Jhari, is under Azamabad with 700 cavalry. But when these are separate the following arrangement is made: 20 cavalry for Thana Bhonchal under Bamol ; 300 for Kathnal ; and 200 for Panjal, with 100 personal.

Pargana Monda[2] :—19 *kos* south-east of Ahmedabad. One division of 90 villages—revenue 1,60,11,616 *dams*. Has a fort. Its Faujdari, with the Thanas of Kaloli, Umreth (town) Barsula, Narsanda, Beblana, Mangoli, Ranjholi, has 300 cavalry (conditional). Two Imperial Thanas, Fort Arjunpur and Fort Kathnali, have 100 horse ; the Thanas of Andhaj and Fort Sahur have 50 horse ; Bamol, with Kholij, 275 horsemen ; and the Thana of Koklij, 300 (conditional).

Pargana Nadiad :—20 *kos* south of Ahmedabad. One division of 36 villages ; revenue 1,96,78,755 *dams*. Its Faujdari. with the Thanas of Sarsa and Rud, has 200 horse Imperial Thanas are as under :—

Sandalpur and Khanpur, two stations, 150 horse ; Chaklasi, 100 personal and 100 horse ; Sili and Kholwar (a fortress), two stations, 150 ; Mandan and Lenora, two stations, 150 ; and Bhalaj, 100 horse.

Pargana Harsol :—24 *kos* north-east of Ahmedabad. Its strong fort was built on the bank of the river Meshwa in the time of the Sultans of Gujarat, but now it is in a ruined condition. One division of 33 villages ; revenue 13,71,619 *dams*. Its Faujdari, with a Thana, has 50 horse.

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[1] See *Bombay Gazetteer* (Kaira and Panch Mahals), p. 173.

[2] Or Mahudha.

II. *Pattan Sarkar.*

Consist of 17 divisions. The city of Pattan in the Province of Ahmedabad was the ancient capital of the Rajas; and of the Sultans of Gujarat before the foundation of the city of Ahmedabad (*vide* Part I). The old population lived within the enclosure built by the Rajas, the remains of which, together with the gate of the Bhadar Fort and its high towers, still exist; but time has brought some changes. The new city is 45 *kos* north-west of Ahmedabad.

The Qazi, the Muhtasib, and the clerical staff, are appointed under Royal *sanads*; taxes are often collected direct. As the Pargana of Pattan is often given as a conditional *Jahgir* of the Nazim and its land-customs also belong to him, certificates of payment on things sent anywhere except to Ahmedabad are signed by the Faujdar and referred to the Provincial Diwan who affixes his seal, and then they are accepted in other places. The town and its customs form two divisions with an income of 25,06,000 *dams*.

Pargana Haveli Pattan :—One division of 461 villages, revenue 3,64,69,121 *dams*. Its Faujdari has the following Thanas attached to it:—

Sidhpur; Unjha; Unava; Bhandu; Ubhara; Balisana; Sandir; Sankhari; Basai; Karovi; Manund; Bilaspur; Ganbhu; Sankarpur; Satwabar; Chanasma; Ruppur; Kidgar; Bhandni; Harij; Aghar; Kamboi; Andra; Samu; Kankrej; Kosa; Mesur; Mehsana; Sonk; Balam; Kamboi Solanki; Dhinoj. 750 horsemen are posted in these places and 21 lakhs *dams* are budgetted for rewards. Imperial Thanas are as under:—

Vadavil, 200 horse; Kakosi, 100 personal, 100 horse; Busamor, 50; Delwara, 50 personal, 20 horse.

Pargana Vadnagar :—It is said that in ancient times this was a big city with three hundred temples scattered throughout it, and bathing tanks built of stone—now in ruins. Its strong rampart wall, 30 *kos* north-east of Ahmedabad, still exists. Vadnagar is inhabited by wealthy Hindus, who are millionaire bankers, so much so that it has been said of Gujarat that it had two golden wings—one the town of Umreth and the other Vadnagar. Alas! these wings are now broken, and the city of Vadnagar suffered

most (*vide* Mubariz-ul-mulk's viceroyalty). It consists of one division of 13 villages; revenue 5,96,456 dams; Faujdari 200 horse, conditional.

Pargana Bijapur:—30 *kos* north-east of Ahmedabad. One division of 102 villages. In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb 10 villages were joined by the Emperor to Pargana Rasulnagar or Bisalnagar. The remaining 92 villages yield a revenue of 1,00,36,565 *dams*. Its Faujdari with the following Thanas—Ladol; Sondhra; Kaddah; Karol; and Bodra—has 250 horse conditional. Imperial Thanas are as under:—Maseya under Pethapur, 67 horse; Kundasan, 50 personal, 50 horse; Pendarda, 50 personal, 100 horse; Jankodra 10; Bijadra, 50 personal, 100 horse; Gongh, 100 personal, 100 horse; Aluria, 100 horse.

Pargana Palanpur:—70 *kos* north of Ahmedabad—a fertile and thriving Province. One division of 179 villages, 29 of which belong to the Zamindars and the rest yield a revenue of 38,06,439 *dams*. From the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb the descendants of Ghazni Khan of Jalor were hereditary Faujdars, but in the reign of the martyred Emperor Farrukhsiyar one Rahim Khan was appointed Faujdar instead. He had to fight with Ghazni Khan—a grandson who had been given the title of his grand-father. The former being worsted the latter (Ghazni Khan surnamed Firoz of Jhalor) sent presents to the court and got an order of confirmation. Karimdad Khan, his son, built a fort named Karimabad, for Palanpur had no fortification in those days, when the Marathas were raiding the country. Formerly the Nazims used to come forward for Imperial service, but now the Nazims have to collect the tribute by force, and the country is divided among their heirs as Zamindars. Now that Muhammad Bahadur of Jhalor rules there, a rampart with towers and battlements has been built round the city of Palanpur. Fine *Cheetahs* are found here and some are sent every year to the Emperor by the Provincial Government. The Faujdar, besides his own Faujdari, has also that of the Pargana of Deesa, and the following Thanas—Mahi; Sahor; Surang; Basu; Sasun; Malus; Surbhan; Jalesur; Lulva; Vilora; Salia; Malun; Khudil: Masun; Keyal; Mujadar; Maluman;

Dhuma: Saklana; Sil; Sakal; Haluja; Jadsoala Lahura; and Puja. He has personal rank of 200, and 300 horse (conditional).

Pargana Tharad :—80 *kos* north-west of Ahmedabad. One division of 166 villages; revenue 5,689,146 *dams*. Its Faujdari is worth with 2,600,008 *dams* as conditional *inam*.

Pargana Terwara :—70 *kos* north-west from Ahmedabad. One division of 104 villages, 72 of which belong to the Rajputs and pay no fixed revenue, and the rest yield a revenue of 250,000 *dams*. As the whole Pargana is given as a *Jahgir*, it has no separate Thanas and contingents.

Pargana Deesa :—80 *kos* north of Ahmedabad with a brick stronghold; one division of 250 villages, eight of which are under local chiefs, and the rest yield a revenue of 1,608,070 *dams*. The Faujdars and Thanadars are annually changed. The following Thanas are under Palanpur Faujdari :—Bhoyan; Saraven; Jalalpur; Dhowa; Kakla; Wali; and Rajpur.

Pargana Dantiwara :—80 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the banks of the Banas river. One division, newly acquired from the Zamindars of Jalor. Its Faujdari is under Palanpur, with 200 personal and 500 cavalry (conditional).

Pargana Rasulnagar :—Or Bisalnagar. 30 *kos* north of Ahmedabad. The town was founded by one of the Gujarati Rajas. In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, at the request of Mulla Hasan Muhammad Gujarati, 10 villages from the Bijapur Pargana and 9 from Kadi, being close to this Pargana were included in it, and it was named Rasulnagar by the Emperor. It has now 20 villages. Revenue 3,592,664 *dams*. Its Faujdari with the following Thanas :—Sewala; Gothwa; and Marudah Basna has 100 personal and 200 horse (conditional).

Pargana Radhanpur :—60 *kos* north-west of Ahmedabad. Formerly it had a stronghold on a hill, with a stone gate one *kos* from the town (now called Fatteh Kot). Jawanmard Khan, son of Safdar Khan who was appointed Vatandar of the town, built a rampart wall, and then after his death his son built a fortress by the side of a tank. It consists of one division of 65 villages; revenue 2,500,000 *dams*, which was the assessment at the time of Jawanmard's appointment as Vatandar. The Faujdari,

combined with that of Terwara, is 200 personal and 100 horse (conditional). Here the Department of the Cloth Market also levies its dues.

Pargana Sami :—40 *kos* north-west of Ahmedabad; has 42 villages and a revenue of 5,866,800 *dams*; Faujdari 200 cavalry (conditional).

Pargana Santalpur :—87 *kos* north-west of Ahmedabad. One division; inhabited by Kolis, who pay only when forced to do so. The number of its villages has not been recorded; revenue 1,515,000 *dams*. This is treated either as *Nazrana* given to the Nazim, or is included in his *Jahgir*; no contingent is therefore required.

Pargana Kheralu :—40 *kos* north-east of Ahmedabad. One division of 114 villages, 51 of which belong to the Zamindars and the rest yield a revenue of 5,787,700 *dams*. Its Faujdari, including the Thanas of Sarma and Hamidsar, is 100 horsemen, conditional.

Pargana Kankrej :—75 *kos* north-west of Ahmedabad. One division inhabited by turbulent Kolis, who pay only when compelled. There is no record of its villages; its revenue of 1,315,000 *dams* is included in the conditional *Jahgir* of the Nazims, and it has therefore no contingent.

Pargana Munjpur :—40 *kos* north-west of Ahmedabad; one division of 36 villages; revenue 4,071,723 *dams*. Faujdari, 200 horsemen, conditional.

Pargana Surwara :—60 *kos* north-west of Ahmedabad. No record of villages; revenue 3,050,500 *dams*.

III. *Baroda Sarkar.*

Consists of four divisions.

Pargana Baroda :—40 *kos* south of Ahmedabad; one division of 226 villages; revenue 7,44,03,659 *dams*. The town has a rampart wall with towers and battlements. Its Faujdari has the following Thanas :—Padra; Mujpur; Hujra; Muli (Mahupur); Kandari; Choranda; Sarang Sokhra; and Salad; 300 horsemen; 80,00,000 *dams* as remunerations, with the addition of the Faujdari of Bahadurpur and Karkari fortress. It has 300 cavalry (conditional) according to the Royal *sanad*.

Pargana Bahadurpur :—55 *kos* south of Ahmedabad; one division of 27 villages; revenue 31,65,993 *dams*. Its Faujdari is under the conditional Faujdari of Baroda, with the Thanas Sitpur and Dahadhu—80 horse.

Pargana Dabhoi :—50 *kos* south of Ahmedabad. Has an ancient stone fort. It forms one division of 48 villages; revenue 1,04,13,010 *dams*. The Faujdari has 200 cavalry, conditional.

Pargana Sinor :—60 *kos* south of Ahmedabad, on the bank of the Narbada; one division of 47 villages; revenue 1,14,87,522 *dams*; Faujdari 300 horsemen, and 82,00,000 *dams* as *inam* to the Faujdari of Baroda. The Thanadari of Miyagam has 150 horsemen, conditional.

IV. *Broach Sarkar.*

It consists of two divisions and two ports.

Pargana Broach :—75 *kos* south of Ahmedabad situated on a very high hillock by the bank of the Narbada. The Pargana with its port has two divisions. It consists of 180 villages; revenue 1,52,33,754 *dams*. It was often attached and made *khalsa*. Faujdari, 250 cavalry, conditional. The port forms one division with a revenue of 9,50,000 *dams*. The Mutasaddi of the port of Surat looks after this port.

Pargana Ankleshwar :—On the other side of the river Narbada, 82 *kos* south of Ahmedabad; one division of 50 villages; revenue 86,24,459 *dams*. Its Faujdari has no contingent.

Pargana Utleshwar :—125 *kos* south of Ahmedabad on the other side of the Narbada, touching the boundary of Baklana. It forms one division under the local Zamindars. But, whenever it is given as a *Jahgir* to the Mutasaddi of Surat, its forces depend on the particular person who is Mutasaddi, and its revenue is exacted by force. There is no record of its villages; its revenue is 4,80,000 *dams*.

Pargana Orhar :—105 *kos* from Ahmedabad in the vicinity of Surat towards the south. It is one division of 158 villages; revenue 83,02,000 *dams*. Its Faujdari, with the Thanas Barsa, Kathodara, Velacha, and Avasar, has 130 cavalry (conditional). Frequently it is made part of the *Jahgir* of the Mutasaddi of Surat.

Pargana Tarkeshwar :—105 *kos* south of Ahmedabad touch-

ing Rajpipla near the Narbada. It is one division of 11 villages; revenue 2,67,019 *dams*. As it is far off and mountainous, the Nazim and Jahgirdars cannot manage it, and it is therefore under a Zamindar and has no Faujdari.

Pargana Chermandvi :—140 *kos* south of Ahmedabad on the other side of the Tapti, under a Zamindar who pays only when forced to pay. It is included in the remuneration of the Mutasaddi of Surat, who sends out expeditions to get in tribute. There is no record of its villages; its revenue is 3,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Jambusar :—50 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the other side of the Mahi; one division of 56 villages; revenue 91,36,285 *dams*. The Faujdari has no contingent. The following Thanas are attached to it—Junwel; Kavi; Kareli; Kau; Sikari Dalan; Kijra; Barsaki; Bhilam.

Pargana Dehijbara :—80 *kos* south of Ahmedabad on the other side of the Mahi. It is one division of 12 villages; two of which have been flooded, the remaining ten produce a revenue of 34,97,098 *dams*. Its Faujdari, with the addition of the Thana of Lohara has 80 cavalry (conditional).

Pargana Galla :—112 *kos* south of Ahmedabad, touching Pargana Kamrej in the Taluka of Surat. One division of 17 villages; revenue 11,00,000 *dams*. Its Faujdari has no contingent.

Pargana Gulbara :—90 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the north of the Narbada. One division of 20 villages. Revenue 27,80,000 *dams*. No contingent.

Pargana Kahunduhar :—80 *kos* from Ahmedabad on the banks of the Mahi, which falls into the sea here. One division; revenue 2,50,000 *dams*. The port is attached to Cambay.

Pargana Maqbulabad or Amod :—50 *kos* south of Ahmedabad. One division of 36 villages. Revenue 75,95,400 *dams*. Faujdari, with the Thanas of Amod and Ajhod—50 cavalry (conditional).

Pargana Hansot :—85 *kos* south of Ahmedabad. One division of 51 villages; revenue 85,88,612 *dams*. As this Pargana is a conditional *Jahgir*, forming the remuneration of the Mutasaddiship of Surat, it has no separate contingent.

V. *Champaner Sarkar*.

Consists of thirteen divisions. It has a fort named Pawagadh on the top of a mountain nearly four *kos* in height. The

circumference of the fort is about half a *kos*, it has a number of gates, and a moat sixty yards wide, over which a wooden bridge, called "Patia Pul," is laid, which is removed during war time. It is a picturesque bit of land, abounding in trees, tanks, and running brooks. Sultan Mahmud Begada conquered it from Raval Patal, and founded a city at the foot of it named after himself, and made it his capital. Some of the Sultans of Gujarat had their capital here (*vide* their reigns). The commandant is under the Faujdari of Godhra, with 50 cavalry (conditional).

Pargana Haveli Champaner, or Halol and Kalol :—50 *kos* south-east of Ahmedabad. 4 divisions of 127 villages. Revenue 33,01,200 *dams*. The Pargana Haveli Champaner division has a revenue of 19,910 *dams*.

Pargana Derol :—One division of 12,90,662 *dams*.

Pargana Unadra :—One division of 57,002 *dams*.

Pargana Jaladra :—One division of 32,130 *dams*. Its Faujdari, with the Thanas of Kunwavdah and Kanjri, and the Thana of Pargana Delol, with the two Thanas of Pargana Jaladra and Avhadra, has 50 cavalry (conditional), under the Faujdari of Godhra.

Pargana Choras Champaner, or Waghodia :—47 *kos* south-east of Ahmedabad. 69 villages. Revenue 35,27,430 *dams*. Faujdari a subdivision of Haveli Champaner, with two Thanas, Jarod and Waghodia.

Pargana Tamurbasna :—60 *kos* south of Ahmedabad. One division. Its area and villages are not recorded. Revenue 24,05,050 *dams*. In olden times its Faujdari was 250 strong and separate, but now it is under Champaner. The Parganas and Thanas mentioned have 200 cavalry, conditional.

Pargana Dohad :—77 *kos* east of Ahmedabad. One division of 100 villages. Revenue 13,43,000 *dams*. Faujdari 200 cavalry. The Thana of Halondi has 80 cavalry, conditional.

Pargana Sankhera :—55 *kos* from Ahmedabad. One division of 83 villages. Revenue 4313169 *dams*. Formerly its Faujdari was separate with 250 cavalry, but now it is a subdivision of Baroda.

Pargana Savli :—35 *kos* south-east of Ahmedabad, on the other side of the Mahi. One division of 54 villages. Revenue

34,42,950 *dams.* Faujdari 100 personal, 300 cavalry; Thana Vankaner, 100 conditional.

Pargana Walia :—65 *kos* from Ahmedabad. One division of 55 villages. Revenue 62,000 *dams.* A subdivision of the Faujdari of Haveli Champaner.

Pargana Mohan :—60 *kos* south-east of Ahmedabad towards Champaner. Mohan Jammugam and the Giras of a Zamindar from three divisions—the villages of which are not entered in the register because in the possession of the Zamindars. Revenue 58,82,797 *dams.* The Faujdari of the above three divisions is 100 personal and 400 cavalry. It forms a conditional *Inam* of 30,00,000 *dams.* The new Pargana Ali is included in the province of Khandesh.

VI. *Nandod Sarkar*

Consists of twelve divisions.

Pargana Haveli Nandod :—75 *kos* from Ahmedabad towards the Narbada, in the vicinity of Rajpipla.

Amroli ; Badal ; Bahwa ; Tilakwada ; Jammugam ; Maragdara or Kukurmonda ; Sarek ; Ubdah ; Murmi ; and Kuwali Saha. In all eleven divisions ; 135 villages. Revenue 71,12,870 *dams.* It is a sub-division of the Faujdari of Baroda.

Pargana Basrai :—90 *kos* from Ahmedabad in the vicinity of Surat. One division of 111 villages. Revenue 51,01,458 dams.

VII. *Godhra Sarkar.*

Consists of fifteen divisions.

Pargana Godhra :—45 *kos* east of Ahmedabad. One division of 170 villages. Revenue 70,59,537 *dams.*

Pargana Jhalod :—37 *kos* east of Godhra. One division of 34 villages. Revenue 11,35,490 *dams.*

Pargana Shera :—7 *kos* north of Godhra. One division of 24 villages. Revenue 2,10,617 *dams.*

Pargana Dhamod :—8 *kos* east of Godhra. One division of 7 villages. Revenue 4,38,980 *dams.*

Pargana Nadli :—35 *kos* east of Godhra. One division, unrecorded. Revenue 1,71,982 *dams.*

Pargana Nemdah :—23 *kos* from Godhra. One division, unrecorded. Revenue 30,81,262 *dams.*

Pargana Mathral :—18 *kos* east of Godhra. One division, unrecorded. Revenue 7,55,930 *dams*.

Pargana Morvah :—10 *kos* east of Godhra. One division, unrecorded. Revenue 30,660 *dams*.

Pargana Kohana :—15 *kos* east of Godhra. One division, unrecorded. Revenue 30,86,585 *dams*.

Pargana Dodah :—15 *kos* east of Godhra. One division, unrecorded. Revenue 2,86,012 *dams*.

Pargana Ambavav :—5 *kos* east of Godhara. One division, unrecorded. Revenue 54,062 *dams*.

As seven Parganas are in the possession of the Zamindars details about their villages are not found in the record office. The Faujdari of Godhra Sarkar has the following Thanas, *viz.* Jalod; Mumamakan; Kasba Shera; Bhabuta (on them is the duty of guarding the road from Godhra to Dahod) Kathbabalia; Chaukia Churia; and Kaliadhara; 500 cavalry (conditional) with 2,000,000 as *inam*.

VIII. *Sorath Sarkar*.

Consists of 62 divisions, including 12 ports. When the fort of Junagadh was conquered by Sultan Mahmud Begada a city named Mustafabad was founded at the foot of the mountain (*vide* his reign). The fort of Junagadh has been described in connection with the viceroyalty of Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Kokaltash under the reign of the Emperor Akbar. This Sarkar extends from Kuliana, 50 *kos* from Ahmedabad, to Jagat or Dwarka on the sea-shore. It is one hundred and fifty-five *kos* in length. Sixty-nine stone forts with towers and battlements still exist. The Qazi and his clerical staff hold their appointments under Royal *sanads*.

Pargana Haveli Junagadh :—110 *kos* south of Ahmedabad. One division including Dhoraji and Majhuri. 192 villages. Revenue 1,25,83,931 *dams*. Faujdari 1,000 cavalry; 80,00,000 sanctioned as *inam*. The custody of the forts of Junagadh and Girnar is included in this Faujdari.

The Mint :—One division—was formed formerly for the Mahmudi coinage, current in the land; later on, it was abolished, as mentioned previously. Income 1,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Adyata :—12 *kos* north-west of Junagadh. Has a fortress, the seat of a Governor. Nowadays it has a rampart wall round the city on the banks of the Bhadar. One division of

53 villages, 41 of which are deserted; the remaining 12 have a revenue of 25,15,460 *dams.*

Pargana Una :—60 *kos* south-east of Junagadh. Has two fortresses with fortifications. The Faujdar's fortress is four *kos* from the seashore. Another fortress, called Dilwara, is one kos from Una. The Pargana, with its port, has two divisions of 231 villages, 143 of which are deserted and there are no details in the records office. The remaining 88 villages yield a revenue of 63,15,262 *dams.* Una in Gujarat is famous for its swords. It is said that a particular well was reserved for tempering the swords. In the course of time this well dried up. Old swords are now very rare. The port of Diu, which was captured by the Europeans in the reign of Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, is situated here (*vide* his reign).

Pargana Amreli :—30 *kos* east of Junagadh. One division included in the district of Kathiawar belonging to the Alak and Khuman Khatis. 103 villages. Revenue 16,72,050 *dams.*

Pargana Arteja :—40 *kos* from Junagadh. One division of 25 villages. Revenue, 473,000 *dams.*

Pargana Bilkha :—8 *kos* south-east of Junagadh. Has a fortress. One division of 59 villages and 2 hamlets. Revenue 1,16,000 *dams.*

Pargana Bandar :—25 *kos* north-east of Junagadh. Has a fortress for the Faujdar. One division of 97 villages. Revenue 19,49,702 *dams.*

Pargana Banna :—25 *kos* from Junagadh ; has a town and a fortress. One division, deserted for many years past. Revenue 40,000 *dams.*

Pargana Bhund :—20 *kos* from Junagadh. One division, with a town. Revenue 2,57,00,330 *dams.*

Pargana Bantwa :—15 *kos* north-west of Junagadh. One division of 74 villages. Revenue 99,66,365 *dams.*

Pargana Jamjharao :—40 *kos* from Junagadh. One division of 84 villages. Revenue 1,15,376 *dams.*

Pargana Bagasra :—22 *kos* from Junagadh. Belonging to the Alak Kathis. One division of 131 villages. Revenue 6,25,454 *dams.*

Pargana Palitana :—50 *kos* east of Junagadh. Has two forts.

The fortified town and citadel is at Shatranja, which has a height of five kos, where a temple of the infidel Shrawak Banias is built. Shatranja is the name of a river. The Pargana belongs to a Zamindar. One division. Revenue 50,000 *dams*.

Pargana Pattandeo :—A port 30 *kos* south of Junagadh on the seashore. Two divisions of 102 villages. Revenue 47,17,000 *dams*. Pattandeo has a very strong fort, with a deep moat made of dressed stones. It is said that a palm tree which grows inside the moat just shows its leaves above. The famous temple of Somnath is here. Bilamal is one *kos* from the port. It had no rampart wall, but in the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah Nemat Khan Lodi built one.

Pargana Porbandar, Navibandar; Ramabao, and Jahanian :—35 *kos* west of Junagadh. Two divisions. The above four ports have strong fortresses on the seashore. 42 villages. Revenue 8,79,125 *dams*.

Pargana Bilirani :—50 *kos* east of Junagadh, with towers of stone. One division of 15 villages. Revenue 18,500 *dams*. It has a separate Faujdari (according to the Royal *sanad*) with 200 cavalry, conditional.

Pargana Talaja, with a port :—70 *kos* south-west of Junagadh. Has a fort on a hill. Now the Zamindar has fortified the town. Two divisions of 811 villages. Revenue 28,54,415 *dams*. The fortresses of Jhanjmir and Sultanpur on the seashore also belong to the Zamindar. The Faujdari, according to *sanad*, is 100 cavalry, conditional.

Pargana Jagat Dwarka, known also as Mustafanagar :—60 *kos* north-west of Junagadh on the seashore. The temple of Dwarka is in the island of Shankhoddar, whither come Hindus from all parts of India. One division, unrecorded, in the possession of a Zamindar. Revenue 8,40,000 *dams*. In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb it was under a Faujdar, but now a Zamindar has got possession of it.

Pargana Jetpur :—15 *kos* north of Junagadh, on the river Dhadhar. A fortified town with a fortress for the Faujdar. The stronghold of the village Sapar is separate. Two divisions of 70 villages. Revenue 4,63,169 *dams*. The Faujdari, according to the Royal *sanad*, is 100 cavalry, conditional.

Pargana Chorwar, and port :—25 *kos* south-west of Junagadh, half a *kos* from the seashore. The fortified town and the fortress of Kokaswara together form two divisions of 40 villages. Revenue 7,13,900 *dams*. Formerly it had a separate Faujdari: now it is in the possession of a Zamindar.

Pargana Jhao :—45 *kos* east of Junagadh. The town is in ruins and in the possession of a Zamindar, who has founded a stronghold at Rangula. One division of 24 villages. Revenue 2,30,000 *dams*.

Pargana Dharmal :—5 *kos* from Junagadh, near Mount Girnar towards the north-east. One division; the town is in ruins; 32 villages on Rayatwari tenure, and revenue, 23,86,385 *dams*.

Pargana Varnagar with port :—60 *kos* south-east of Junagadh, on the seashore; two divisions of 12 villages. Revenue 7,70,000 *dams*.

Pargana Dhatrod :—45 *kos* south-east of Junagadh, near Una. One division, unrecorded. Revenue 1,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Dhari :—25 *kos* south-east of Junagadh, with a fortress for the Faujdar. One division of 43 villages. Revenue 50,000 *dams*.

Pargana Dahak :—70 *kos* from Junagadh, with four fortresses. The town, with villages Harsaran, Walad, and Dalodra, forms one division of 25 villages. Revenue 3,35,000 *dams*.

Pargana Daulatabad :—50 *kos* south-east of Junagadh. One division. Revenue of the town 1,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Rajkot or Masumabad :—25 *kos* north-east of Junagadh, with 8 fortresses. The town is the seat of a Faujdar—and Jasdan, Anandot, Bahadurpur, Majek, Jamanpur, Sanora, and Sardhar or Masumabad, form one division of ten villages. Revenue 6,00,000 *dams*. Masum Quli alias Shujaat Khan, in the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, and during his Faujdari, killed the Zamindar of Junagadh after a long struggle. Raja Quli *alias* Rustam Ali Khan was wounded in the fight. Then Masum built the fort of Masumabad, and acquired for himself from the Emperor the Faujdari and Watandari of the Pargana. The payment of revenue was subject to his being the Faujdar of the Pargana.

Pargana Rakhvan :—50 *kos* south-east of Junagadh, near

Palitana. One division of 10 villages. Revenue 1,00,000 *dams.*

Pargana Ranpur :—12 *kos* east of Junagadh. Rayatwari. One division of 172 villages. Revenue 10,46,656 *dams.* Faujdari 300 cavalry, conditional.

Pargana Barwala :—40 *kos* north-east of Junagadh. As it belongs to the Khachar Kathis its villages are not recorded. Revenue 47,400 *dams.*

Pargana Senhor :—70 *kos* south-east of Junagadh, in the possession of a Zamindar and near Ghoga port. The ports of Bhargej and Bhavnagar, newly founded by Bhausingh Zamindar, and a fortress on the seashore visited by ships, are included. One division of 6 villages. Revenue 1,00,000 *dams.*

Pargana Barbara :—30 *kos* north-east of Junagadh. Has a fortress. One division of two villages. Revenue 50,480 *dams.*

Pargana Khontdar :—45 *kos* south-east of Junagadh. One division, unrecorded. Revenue 1,05,054 *dams.*

Pargana Gondal :—25 *kos* north of Junagadh. One division with 3 fortresses, *viz*: the town of Dolia, the village of Arduna, and fort Pipli, 50 villages. Revenue 2,00,000 *dams.*

Pargana Kariardhar :—40 *kos* south-east of Junagadh, under a Zamindar, who has built a stronghold. One division of 40 villages. Revenue 6,28,042 *dams.*

Pargana Ghogabara :—80 *kos* south-east of Junagadh, on the seashore. The port is under the Mutasaddi of Cambay, and the town is fortified. One division of 103 villages. Revenue 11,80,000 *dams.*

Pargana Kodinar :—45 *kos* south-west[1] of Junagadh, and two kos from the seaside. Two divisions including the port. Europeans have captured the island and port of Diu, which is eight *kos* from Una and five from the mainland, and which properly belongs to this Pargana. One division of 133 villages. Revenue 52,59,527 *dams.*

Pargana Kotiana :—20 *kos* from Junagadh, with a fortress in the town and a citadel for the Faujdar; and the forts of Aka, Kinbli,

[1] South-East (?).

and Dura, on the north-east. One division, Rayatwari, of 116 villages. Revenue 8,81,821 *dams.*

Pargana Lathi :—40 *kos* east of Junagadh, in the province of Kathiawar. One division with a citadel. Revenue 1,46,000 *dams.*

Pargana Guliana :—60 *kos* east of Junagadh, near Dhanduka, with a citadel for the Faujdar on the frontier of Sorath. One division of 104 villages. Revenue 16,02,700 *dams.*

Pargana Mandvi :—45 *kos* south-east of Junagadh near Kariadhar, with a citadel for the Faujdar. One division of 25 villages. Revenue 50,000 *dams.*

Pargana Mendarda :—2 *kos* south of Junagadh, with a fortress. One division of 90 villages. Revenue 12,91,195 *dams.*

Pargana Mahuva :—60 *kos* south-east of Judagadh, near the sea, with a citadel and a port. Two divisions of 80 villages. Revenue 34,58,375 *dams.*

Pargana Mangalor[1] :—20 *kos* south-west of Junagadh, 2 *kos* from the seashore. Has a fortified town and a citadel for the Faujdar. The fortress of Malia and the port form two divisions of 227 villages. Revenue 96,07,135 *dams.* The following fortresses are situated in the Pargana :—

Mahupur; Sabhli; Balagam; Kesuj; belonging to a Zamindar, who is said to be a relation of Raja Mandlik of Sorath; Akiya; Bagasra.

Pargana Morvi :—70 *kos* north-east of Junagadh, on the banks of the river Machu. A fortified town with a citadel for the Faujdar. The fortresses of Modhur and Shahpur belong to a Zamindar. One division, unrecorded, of 200 villages. Revenue 30,30,000 *dams.*

Pargana Muhammad Nagar, or Halvad :—80 *kos* north-east of Junagadh, and 50 *kos* from Ahmedabad, in a valley. Including the fortified town it forms one division of 112 villages, unrecorded. Revenue 25,08,000. In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb it was given to Nazar Ali Khan as *Jahgir*, and he paid 25,000 rupees annually. Afterwards it became non-regulation,

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[1] Now known as Mangrol. According to Bird Mangrol is the Monoglossum Imporium of Ptolemy.

and the Nazims take it by way of tribute. 100 personal and 300 cavalry, with the Faujdari of Pargana Kadi.

Pargana Malikpur :—60 *kos* south-east of Jungadh, on the seaside, with the port of Muzaffarabad built by Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati. Two divisions of 27 villages. Revenue 2,50,000 *dams.*

Pargana Hastichok :—40 *kos* south-east of Junagadh, near Palitana. One division of 14 villages. Revenue 4,01,000 *dams.*

IX. *Islam Nagar, or Nawanagar Sarkar.*

Of 17 divisions, besides divisions of the ports, etc., which are not registered.

It is said that in ancient times Jam Raval, one of the relations of the Raja of Cutch, after a struggle lasting two months, left Cutch and founded the city of Nawanagar, between Cutch and Junagadh, gradually conquering neighbouring places. It was called "Little Cutch." In the reign of the Emperor Akbar the Jam remained in possession, as in the times of the Sultans of Gujarat. But in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Nawanagar was captured by the Imperial Government (as recorded elsewhere). At the request of Maharaja Jaswantsinghji, Nazim of the Province, the Jam with his sons was recognised, and received nine divisions from Pargana Khambalia as *Jahgir*. Nawanagar was then named Islamnagar. An office—Diwan and Mutasaddi—for collecting taxes and the management of the mint, where *mahmudis* were recoined into rupees, was attached to the Crown estates, but gradually the salaries of the Deccani officials and of the Provincial Government and its Faujdars and the Jahgirdars were paid from this source, and it was almost all accounted for. After the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb the Jam obtained possession. One concession is, however, given, *viz.*, duties levied at Ahmedabad are accepted here without extra charge. The Zamindar is called the Jam.

Pargana Haveli Islamnagar, etc. :—110 *kos* west of Ahmedabad, with a fort. It has a strong rampart wall, with turrets and six gates with guns mounted. The Mandvi Mint was established for the melting of *mahmudis* on behalf of the Imperial Government. Income 50,000 *dams.* Here are Government Mutasaddis for collecting dues. Revenue 9,23,700 *dams.*

Pargana Haveli :—One division of 253 villages.

Pargana Amran :—One division, east of Islamnagar towards Ahmedabad. 52 villages. Has a fortress for the Faujdari. The tomb of Malik Abdul Latif, better known as Shah Dawal, is here.

Pargana Pardhari :—South-east of Islamnagar. One division of 39 Thanas.

Pargana Kalabar :—South of Islamnagar. One division of 79 villages, with a citadel for the Thanadar.

Latifpur :—One division of 25 villages with a Thana.

Pargana Deraya :—South of Islamnagar. One division of 86 villages. The Thanas of Pargana Haveli, etc., are six in all. The division, being newly conquered, no detailed account village by village has been received in the office. For Crown lands and *Jahgirs* the total revenue has been assessed at 52,82,432 *dams*. The Faujdari of Islamnagar, including its Thanas, is 1,000 personal and 700 cavalry conditional.

Pargana Khambalia with its port :—Both towards the west of Islamnagar. One division of 65 villages, with a stronghold for the Thanadar. Revenue 20,10,000 *dams*.

Pargana Marandi :—West of Islamnagar. One division 48 villages. Revenue 10,72,200 *dams*.

Pargana Baniali :—West of Islamnagar. One division including the port of Jhakar. 22 villages. Revenue 6,70,600 *dams*.

Pargana Visawara :—South-east of Islamnagar. One division of 19 villages. Revenue 4,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Dhrol :—One division of 97 villages. Revenue 15,33,000 *dams*. The Jam had a share in this Pargana.

Pargana Raipur, also known as Badh :—West of Islamnagar. One division of 53 villages. Revenue 15,85,000 *dams*. Has a Thanadar.

Pargana Khandolia :—South of Islamnagar. One division of 128 villages. Revenue 23,00,000 *dams*. Has a fort where a Thanadar is posted.

As the above Parganas, in whole, or in some cases as to a share, have been bestowed on Jam Tamaji as *Jahgir*, and the revenues are therefore divided, except in the case of the Parganas and forts attached to the Sarkar of Islamnagar, and are not

included in the accounts, there is no record in the office. And the Parganas—Jodhpur; Ol; Jodia; Balamba; Bhakol; Harsavarsa; Juba, which has a port—yield a revenue of 1,97,44,254 *dams* for the whole of the Sarkar which is assessed and not assessed.

X. *Surat Sarkar.*

The administration of the Sarkar of Surat sometimes belongs to the Mutasaddi of that place, but it often forms part of the administration of the Province. It has 31 divisions — ports and Parganas.

The city of Surat:—110 *kos* south of Ahmedabad. Its boundary in the reign of the Sultans of Gujarat extended to Katalkhanpur. In the reign of the Emperror Akbar the Pargana of Nandurbar, etc., which belonged to the province of Khandesh, was included; so the present boundary is up to Mirkot in the Pargana of Tugara, and the boundary towards Baglan is up to Kundmar. In olden days the city had no rampart wall, but this was built in the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb when the Deccanis raided the country. In the reign of Farrukhsiyar, when Haidar Quli was Mutasaddi, another wall named Almpanah, enclosing some of the *puras* (as mentioned in the description of ports, etc.), was constructed. Officials are appointed by Royal *sanad*. The Fort Commandant is appointed under the seal of the Commander of the artillery, and he has 250 cavalry, excluding his personal *mansab* and contingent.

Description of the Fort.

It is said that in the time of the Sultans of Gujarat Rander was the port, but in the year 947 A.H. a Turk named Safar Agha,[1] who received the title of Khudawand Khan in the reign of Sultan Mahmud, in order to put an end to the piracy of the Europeans who were harrassing the inhabitants, began to build a strong fortress. When building it Europeans arrived with ships and guns, and began to bombard the fort to prevent its being built. Their efforts proved vain, and the fort was finished—with walls fifteen yards wide and twenty yards high, solidly built—mounted

1 Perhaps mistake for Asghar Agha. Bird thinks that he was the Rumi (Turkish) Khan, who cast the great gun at Bijapur named the Malik-i-maidan, in 1097 A.H.

with heavy guns, and provided with arms and ammunition. Then the pirates were repulsed.

Officers.

The Mutasaddi :—Appointed by *sanad* under the seal of the Diwan-i-Ala, with 100 personal and 200 contingent. He has agents appointed to collect dues at the port and inland.

According to precedent the following appointments are made by the Head Office: the Artillery Commander; Grand Bakhshi; Chief Judge; Mir-i-Saman; Post Master; Sadrs; Qazis; Bakhshis; reporters; peons; Muhtasib (controller); Superintendent of Arab and Iraqi horses, which are imported in ships; Superintendent of cattle market; Court Daroga, Amin of the Treasury and of expenditure; Superintendents of the Civil Court; of Public Works; of Magazines; of Mint; of Salt; of Customs; of Charitable Endowments; of Provisions; of Jewellery and Fancy Markets; of Rent Collections; of Hospitals; of the Langar Khanas; of Corn Markets; and for the annual presents for the Harims of Mecca and Medina.

Divisions are altogether 29.

The city with the Mint and Corn Market, etc. One division. Revenue 1,50,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Chorasi :—One division of 84 villages. Revenue 41,67,650 *dams*.

Pargana Rander :—One division—the town. Revenue 2,68,000 *dams*. Formerly it was a city.

Pargana Haroli :—One division. Revenue 15,40,000 *dams*.

Pargana Balsar :—One division of 52 villages. Revenue 35,77,000 *dams*.

Pargana Chikhli :—One division of 84 villages. Revenue 13,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Marpara :—One division. Three *kos* north of the port of Surat. Revenue 6,70,000 *dams*.

Pargana Bardoli and Momra :—Two divisions. 12 *kos* from Surat. Revenue 5,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Gandevi :—19 *kos* from Surat. One division of 27 villages. Revenue 23,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Balesar :—One division of 23 villages. Revenue 1,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Malur :—19 *kos* from Surat. One division of 64 villages. Revenue 30,94,893 *dams*.

Pargana Khandka :—22 *kos* from Surat. One division of 16 villages. Revenue 1,41,917 *dams*.

Pargana Sahrat :—One deserted division of 21 villages. Revenue 1,60,000 *dams*.

Pargana Balvara :—39 *kos* from Surat. One division of 20 villages. Revenue 1,98,288 *dams*.

Pargana Anawal :—One division of 6 villages. Revenue 50,100 *dams*.

Pargana Vahmuri :—One division of 16 villages. Revenue 75,000 *dams*.

Pargana Lohari :—One division of 12 villages. Revenue 1,00,000 *dams*.

Pargana Bansar :—One division—the town—Revenue 5,40,000 *dams*.

Pargana Sirbhon :—One division. Revenue 12,25,000 *dams*.

Pargana Kharod :—One division. Revenue 6,92,000 *dams*.

Pargana Mosar :—One division. Has a fort Commandant. Its Thanadari is subordinate to the Mutasaddi of the port. Revenue 16,40,000 *dams*.

Pargana Mahuwa :—One division. Revenue 1,20,620 *dams*.

Pargana Biyadra :—One division. Revenue 8,36,325 *dams*.

Pargana Kus :—One division. Revenue 1,20,308 *dams*.

Pargana Barjot :—One division. Revenue 53,77,371 *dams*.

Pargana Talari :—One division. Revenue 4,96,000 *dams*.

Pargana Kamrej :—12 *kos* north-east of Surat. One division Revenue 19,35,000 *dams*.

Pargana Nâvsari :—One division. Revenue 6,03,200 *dams*.

Pargana Talsir :—One division. Revenue 30,80,278 *dams*.

CHAPTER VI.

Sarkars Paying Tribute.

Six Sarkars belonging to the Zamindars, who, during the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar, remained in possession of them as in the times of the Sultans of Gujarat. They are ordered to serve

the Nazims, to whom they pay tribute, when it can be enforced. The Girasia Rajputs, Kolis, Kathis, Jats, Jhadejas, Bakhirs, Koraishis, Rathors, Ahirs and Makwanas, who from ancient times are lords of their fiefs, pay tribute to the Nazims. Below are given the names of such Zamindars :—

Rajpipla, Mohan, Lunawara, Navanagar, Baria Bharai, Ranabao, Jhaba, and Jharmandvi.

I & II.

Sarkârs of Dongarpur and Bansballa.

On the frontier between Gujarat and Malwa, 120 *kos* east of Ahmedabad on the other side of the river Mahi. The Zamindar is called the Raval. He had the two Sarkars, but owing to family feuds the Sarkar of Dongarpur was bestowed on the descendants of Ramsingh, while Bansballa was given to Kusalsingh. The latter Sarkar, being in the vicinity of Malwa, the Nazim of that Province used to get a portion of the tribute. The two Sarkars are mountainous, and consist of 1,750 villages. Dongarpur is bounded by Sinor in Sagbara (Gujarat) on the river, and on the other side by Salvan in Udaipur, In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Raval Ramsingh had 1,000 personal *mansab* with 1,000 cavalry, and he had Dongarpur (Revenne 1,60,00,000 *dams*) as *Jahgir*. The road to Malwa was opened in his time. The Emperor Farrukhsiyar, in the fifth year of his reign, sent a *farman* to the effect that, being pleased with the loyalty of Maharana Ramsingh, His Majesty bestowed on him Udaipur, Dongarpur, and Bansballa.

Formerly from the reign of Aurangzeb to the time of Shujaat Khan's viceroyalty, when feudatory chiefs used to attend for service, men from Dongarpur halted at the old tank in the garden of Asarva (Pargana Haveli). Bansballa used to pay Rs. 1,00,000.

III. *Sunth Sarkar.*

83 *kos* east of Ahmedabad. The Zamindar paid Rs. 15,000.

IV. *Sirohi Sarkar.*

90 *kos* north-east of Ahmedabad. Its boundary touches the mountains of Marwar, 40 *kos* from Palanpur. Its villages adjoin

Pargana Deesa. It has a fort on Mount Abu, where there are 12 populated villages, with running brooks and green fields and many trees. The whole land is fertile. When the Emperor Akbar conquered Gujarat and appointed Raja Todarmal for the land settlement, the Zamindar, through Bahadur Khan Babi, waited on the Emperor, presenting Rs. 50,000 and 100 *ashrafis.* His Majesty bestowed on him a robe of honour, with a jewel for the turban and an elephant. He was ordered to receive Sirohi as his *Jahgir,* on condition of waiting with 2,000 soldiers on the Nazims. But from the time of the viceroyalty of Prince Dara Shikoh (in the reign of the Emperor Shah Jahan), when Ghairat Khan was the Deputy, the Zamindar has never attended.

V. *Sarkar Sulaimannagar, known as Cutch.*

100 *kos* north-west of Ahmedabad, adjoining Tattah. On the road from Ahmedabad by way of Katariachol is a salt desert known in Gujarati as the *Runn,* and it has been described before; there is a *Runn,* too, measuring 8 *kos* on the road to Radhanpur. In the time of the Sultans of Gujarat the Zamindar possessed 2,080 villages, with 4,000 cavalry as contingent. But when the Province fell into the hands of the Moghals, Sultan Muzaffar, the last king of Gujarat, took refuge with Bahara, then Zamindar of Cutch. Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Kokaltash, the Nazim of the province, hotly pursued the fugitive king, and Bahara, unable to resist the Imperial forces revealed the whereabouts of the unfortunate Muzaffar, who was soon captured. (*vide* Akbar's reign.) As a reward for his services Bahara requested Mirza Aziz to give him Pargana Morvi and exempt him from future service. The request being acceded to, Bahara gradually annexed to his *Jahgir* the villages of Keri, Sathalpur, and Kanikot, round about Pargana Murdawara. He also took Pargana Rajbar (in Tattah), which had been conquered by Sultan Mahmud Begada, thus increasing his old possessions. At present he is one of the wealthiest Zamindars of the Province, holding about 8,000 villages and many ports. When Prince Dara Shikoh entered Gujarat by way of Tattah, and after being defeated retreated again to that

place (vide Aurangzeb's coronation), Aurangzeb ordered Qutb-ud-din Khan, son-in-law of the Faujdar of Junagadh, to march with an army and punish the Zamindar, who had kept some of Dara Shikoh's jewels and kit.

The Zamindar surrendered these things, and paid three lakhs of *mahmudis* as tribute. In return he was given a robe of honour and an elephant. As Cutch is of old a feudal land no detailed account is found in the Imperial records. Some of the Parganas and well-known ports, however, are described. In the reign of Muhammad Shah, Shujaat Khan, Naib of Muiz-ud-daula, received six lakhs of *mahmudis* as tribute.

Bhujnagar :—The seat of the Zamindar, with a strong fort with turrets and battlements and guns mounted on it. Now-a-days another fortress, called Bhuj Bhang, near the rampart wall, has been built on the top of the hill. Bana Shahi and Mana Shahi swords of the best quality are made here.

Pargana Anjhar :—On the sea side, south of Bhuj. Two divisions, including the port. Has a fortress.

Pargana Chuyari :—One division.

Pargana Dharka :—One division.

Pargana Mandvi :—One the seaside, south of Bhuj. Two divisions, including a port. Has a fortress.

Pargana Sarma :—On the seashore. Two divisions, including a port.

Pargana Hariala :—One division.

Pargana Bara :—One division.

Pargana Bijhana :—50 *kos* from Bhuj ; one division.

Pargana Kuvadra :—40 *kos* from Bhuj; one division.

Pargana Pandni :—One division.

Pargana Barbari :—One division.

Pargana Kothari :—One division. Has a fort.

Pargana Narainsar :—One division.

Pargana Talya :—One division. Has a fort. 42 *kos* from Jagat.

Parganas Katara, Kanikot, Bandar Sagalo :—One division each.

Bandar Dotalodi :—One division. Has a fort.

Bandar Mundra :—One division.

Pargana Rasmeda :—One division.

Pargana Kathara :—One division.

Pargana Nagri and Sankmut :—Two divisions.

Pargana Sasri :—One division.

Ports, Arma, Godra, Jakki :—One division.

Bandar Kankrala :—One division. On the seashore, between Cutch and Tattah.

Bandar Auranga :—One division, touching the Province of Tattah and the ports attached to it.

VI. *Sarkar Ramnagar.*

South of Ahmedabad, touching Surat Sarkar. When Raja Todarmal went there, the Zamindar, through Nahar Khan of Gujarat, paid his respects to the Raja at Broach, presenting Rs. 12,000, four horses, and two swords, as tribute. He was given a robe of honour and a horse, 1,000 *mansab* and 500 personal. Instead of a *Jahgir* he was given a Zamindari and ordered to attend with 1,000 cavalry. The Mutasaddi of Surat receives the tribute from the Ramnagar Sarkar.

Peshkash (tribute) from the Desais of the Province.

When Akbar captured Gujarat, Raja Todarmal was sent for the assessment of the revenue of the whole Province. Consequently he appointed Desais in all the divisions, to whom the subjects had to pay 2½ per cent. as their dues. In the time of Khan-i-Azam half of the dues was cancelled, and half of the other half, *i.e.* ten annas, was taken over by the Government and remitted to the treasury. The remaining ten annas were paid to the Desais.

Tribute from the Zamindars, which the Nazims enforce by arms.

When the Sultans of Gujarat began their conquests, the Rajputs and Kolis, who were the hereditary chiefs of the country, rose against them. It was, therefore, arranged that a quarter of their lands, called *Watan* in Gujarat, should be left with them for cultivation, so that they should defend the place. The other portion, called Talpad, belonged to the Crown. They were also asked to pay to the Crown by way of quit rent a rate per *bigha* of

their lands according to local conditions. Now the Nazims collect this as tribute by force of arms. And the Zamindars, who held complete Parganas, were asked to serve in war time instead of paying quit rent. In the course of time they refused service, and in order to pay their tribute, when they entered any Pargana they collected from the Rayats what they called [1] *khichri*. Below is given an account of such fixed tributes as were collected by the old Nazims.

Taraf of Sabar Kantha :—Cash 3,42,135 rupees and annas 8 = 401,911 Mahmudis; a pair of oxen, and 5 horses.

Pargana Kadi :—Twenty-six stations. Tribute of the Zamindars Rs. 44,095. Khichri from Rayats Rs. 15,001.

Pargana Bahial :—Nine stations. Tribute 3,159 rupees. Khichri Rs. 5,348.

Pargana Bijapur :—Twenty-eight stations. Tribute Rs. 46,881 and annas 8. Khichri Rs. 10,009.

Pargana Piplod known as Dhrasana :—Two stations. Tribute Rs. 725. Khichri Rs. 416.

Pargana Ahmednagar :—Six stations. Tribute Rs. 2,229. Khichri Rs. 1,516.

Pargana Prantij :—Six stations. Tribute Rs. 2,439. Khichri Rs. 3,881.

Pargana Idar :—Seven stations. Tribute Rs. 31,157. Khichri Rs. 10,001.

Pargana Rasulnagar or Bisalnagar :—One station. Tribute Rs. 13,001. Khichri Rs. 700.

Pargana Jhalabra :—Two stations. Tribute Rs. 1,902. Khichri Rs. 1,601.

Pargana Kheralu :—Two stations. Tribute Rs. 36,800. Khichri Rs. 2,025.

Tappa Chunwal :—Four stations. Tribute Rs. 8,110. Nazrana Rs. 15,711.

Pargana Pattan :—Nineteen stations. Tribute Rs. 19,675. Khichri Rs. 42,425.

Pargana Sumi :—Has no tribute. Khichri Rs. 3,581.

Pargana Mujhpur :—No tribute. Khichri Rs. 3,501.

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[1] Rice and pulse, *i.e.*, blackmail.

Pargana Tirwara :—Four stations. Tribute Rs. 522 cash; 11,000 *mahmudis*, 3 horses, one pair of oxen. No Khichri.

Pargana Parkar :—One station. Formerly the Zamindars used to serve under the Nazim with 200 cavalry, and enjoyed a quarter of the Pargana. Afterwards the tribute was fixed as 15,000 *mahmudis* cash, and 2 horses, with no khichri.

Pargana Tharad :—Four stations. Tribute 3,33,411 *mahmudis*. Khichri Rs. 4,000.

Pargana Morwara :—Two stations. Tribute 8,000 *mahmudis*. No Khichri.

Pargana Radhanpur :—One station. 12,000 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Sathalpur :—Five stations. Rs. 5,500, and 58,500 *mahmudis*. No Khichri.

Pargana Palanpur :—One station. The Zamindar of the town is Shāma. Tribute Rs. 2,956. The Faujdars who took possession of it have to pay Rs. 17,000. No Khichri.

Pargana Sirohi :—One station. Rs. 15,000, and 100 ashrafis. No Khichri.

Taraf of Vatrak Kantha and Mahikantha :—Rs. 6,00,252 and 9,70,050 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Mahmudabad :—One station. No tribute. Khichri Rs. 1,500.

Pargana Petlad :—Fifteen stations. Tribute Rs. 26,146. Khichri Rs. 20,000.

Pargana Arharmatar :—Five stations. Tribute Rs. 3,626; Khichri Rs. 2,578.

Pargana Chorasi Port Cambay :—Eight stations. Tribute Rs. 26,960; Khichri Rs. 33,550.

Pargana Thamna :—Three stations. Tribute Rs. 28,552; Khichri Rs. 4,940.

Pargana Munda :—Six stations. Tribute Rs. 13,950; Khichri Rs. 6,200.

Pargana Sarnal or Thasra :—Thirteen stations. Tribute Rs. 21,250; Khichri Rs. 500.

Pargana Balasinor :— Seven stations. Tribute Rs. 1,64,000; Khichri Rs. 2,500.

Pargana Kapadwanj :—Seven stations. Tribute Rs. 2,893; Khichri Rs. 4,000.

Pargana Modrasa :—Six stations. Tribute Rs. 14,000. Khichri Rs. 166.

Pargana Birpur :—One station. Tribute on account of Lunawada Rs. 87,000. Khichri Rs. 500.

Pargana Harsol :—One station. Tribute Rs. 1,110 ; Khichri Rs. 500.

Pargana Mekhrej :—One station. Tribute Rs. 1,500 ; no Khichri.

Pargana Mamurabad :—One station. Tribute Rs. 400 ; Khichri Rs. 166.

Pargana Haidarabad :—One station. No tribute ; Khichri Rs. 200.

Pargana Shahjahanpur or Kesra :—No tribute ; Khichri Rs. 200.

Pargana Dongarpur :—Tribute Rs. 1,35,000.

Mahi Kantha.

Pargana Baroda :—Twelve stations. Tribute Rs. 1,91,385 *mahmudis* ; Khichri 67,004 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Chorasi Champaner or Waghodia :—Four stations ; tribute 12,900 *mahmudis* ; Khichri 7,000 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Savli :—Eight stations ; tribute 4,199½ *mahmudis* ; 10,000 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Haveli Champaner or Halol Kalol :—Two stations ; 16,552 *mahmudis* ; Khichri 8,000 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Godhra :—Three stations ; tribute on account of Sunth Sarkar 37,500 *mahmudis* ; Zamindars, two stations, tribute 17,500 *mahmudis* ; Khichri Rs. 6,000.

Pargana Dohad :—No tribute ; Khichri Rs. 200.

Pargana Jhalod :—One station ; tribute, fixed when Prince Muhammad Azam Shah came, Rs. 16,000.

Pargana Dabhoi :—One station ; tribute from Rampur Zamindars, 15,000 *mahmudis* ; Khichri Rs. 10,000.

Pargana Bahadurpur :—No tribute ; Khichri 2,500 *mahmudis*

Pargana Sankheda :—Seven stations ; 84,200 *mahmudis* ; 2,500 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Mohan :—One station ; tribute 52,000 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Ali :—One station ; during the reign of the Emperor

Aurangzeb and viceroyalty of Bahadur Khan the tribute was 1,00,000 *mahmudis*, with no Khichri.

Pargana Tilakwara :—Six stations ; 25,400 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Sinor :—Three stations ; 64,000 *mahmudis* ; 10,000 *mahmudis.*

Pargana Nandod :—In the reign of the Sultans of Gujarat the Zamindar of Rajpipla as feudatory chief had one-fourth in the Pargana of Nandod with 16 Parganas near Nandurbar ; but when the Emperor Akbar conquered the Province, the Zamindar met Raja Todarmal and explained his position. He was therefore given one-fourth as before with the Parganas near Nandurbar, on condition of his serving with 1,000 horse. Desais, Qazis, and Reporters, were appointed by Government. But he killed the Desai, and the Nazim invaded his territory, and he had to pay Rs. 1,00,000 as tribute. In the reign of Muhammad Shah, Rustam Ali raided Rajpipla and took Rs. 2,50,000 from the Zamindar. In former times 4,000 *mahmudis* were levied as Khichri.

Pargana Makbulabad :—Two stations ; 63,000 *mahmudis* ; 2,000 *mahmudis.*

Pargana Broach :—One ; 17,000 *mahmudis* ; Khichri during the Governorship of Muhammad Amin Khan, Rs. 16,000.

Pargana Jambusar :—Four ; 27,000 *mahmudis* ; 22,000 *mahmudis.*

Pargana Vehejpara :—One ; 2,000 *mahmudis* ; 500 *mahmudis.*

Pargana Talisar :—One ; for Jharmandvi Zamindar Rs. 2,200. No Khichri.

Pargana Khandkabara :—One ; Rs. 2,500 ; no Khichri.

Pargana Ramnagar :—One ; during the governorship of Azam Khan tribute Rs. 9,000. No Khichri.

Taraf Shahpur, etc. :—Tribute and Khichri Rs. 3,58,186 and 11,43,481 *mahmudis* ; 14 horses ; rice 200 maunds ; 2 guns ; *cheetahs* ; 60 camels.

Pargana Viramgam :—Eight stations ; 37,331 ; Khichri in Desai villages Rs. 7,500.

Pargana Ranpur :—Four ; Rs. 37,928 ; Rs. 421.

Pargana Wadhwan :—Four ; Rs. 17,851 ; Rs. 9,548.

Pargana Dholka :—Two ; Rs. 40,000 ; no Khichri.

Pargana Dhanduka :—Seven ; Rs. 48,631 ; no Khichri.

Pargana Amuna :—Two ; 6,700 *mahmudis* ; 3 horses ; Khichri 2,500 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Haveli Junagadh :—Three ; 4,610 *mahmudis* ; Khichri 28,000 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Jhada :—One ; Rs. 562-8-0 ; no Khichri.

Pargana Bagasra :—Ten ; 17,680 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Banswer :—Fifteen ; 17,881 *mahmudis* tribute.

Pargana Manglor :—Eight ; 17,004 *mahmudis* ; Khichri 12,000 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Bhamrao :—One ; 281 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Kariadhar :—Two ; 61,500 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Jetpur :—One ; 3,300 *mahmudis* ; 4,100 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Mandvi :—One ; 400 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Sultanpur Devli :—One ; 3,500 *mahmudis* ; 2,500 *mahmudis*.

Sorath Sarkar :—Pargana Arthaja ; 4 ; 4,175 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Ghoga :—Two ; 12,000 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Porbandar Navi bandar :—One ; 2,500 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Rampur :—Twelve ; 47,570 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Koliana :—One ; no tribute ; Khichri 3,500 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Gondal :—Two ; Rs. 1,031-8-0 cash ; one horse ; 4,000 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Dhak :—one ; 4,000 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Medri :—Three ; 25,751 *mahmudis* ; Khichri 7,000 mahmudis.

Pargana Rajkot :—Six ; Rs. 7,258 ; Rs. 1,953.

Pargana Una :—One ; 5,100 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Mahuva :—One ; 2,000 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Talaja :—One ; 1,900 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Bhilka :—Two ; Rs. 1,500 ; no Khichri.

Pargana Dhari :—One ; Rs. 1,000 and 500 *mahmudis* ; no Khichri.

Pargana Kodinar :—One ; Rs. 1,000 ; Khichri Rs. 2,725 and 14,926 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Pattan Dev :—Two; 8,778 *mahmudis*; levy for guests and Khichri, 20,800 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Hastani Chaok :—One; 1,600 *mahmudis*; no Khichri.

Pargana Bantwa :—One; No tribute; Khichri 5,000 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Kotiana :—Four; 9,500 *mahmudis*; 2,000 *mahmudis*.

Pargana Amreli :—Two; 2,467 *mahmudis*; no Khichri.

Pargana Jagat, or Dwarka :—Two; tribute 4 guns.

Islamnagar Sarkar.

Sixteen; The Jam is the Zamindar.

Islamnagar :—Tribute Rs. 60,000, 10 horses, 200 maunds rice; four cheetas and two lynxes.

Pargana Amran 35c.:—Fifteen; Rs. 93,750 and 86,350 *mahmudis*; no Khichri.

Fixed Annual Tribute of the Desais.

Parganas.	Desais.			Zamindars.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Piplod or Dhara Asra	193	2	0	151	5	0
Prantij	526	9	0	1,654	0	0
Bahyal	2,167	5	0	....		
Balasinor	515	10	0	35	12	0
Pattan, &c., Tharad, Tirwara, Radhanpur, Sami, Munjhpur, Kheralu	6,486	5	0	6,505	8	0
Palanpur and Deesa	4,023	3	6	(Combined for Desai and Zamindar).		
Birpur	764	12	0	4,677	12	0
Bijapur	4,023	3	6	(Combined for Desai and Zamindar).		
Thamna	299	8	0	....		
Thurbasna	239	8	0	....		
Jhalawar	3,073	15	0	4,275	0	0

and 12,100 *mahmudis*.

Parganas.	Desais.			Zamindars.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Bisrai	461	9	0	Sirdari 9	4	0
Badnagar	679	12	0	124	15	0
Baroda, Sinor, Sankheda, and Bahadurpur	5,410	0	0	1,550	0	0
Jambusar	1,502	12	0	....		
Jhalabara	317	14	0	344	13	0
Chorasi Cambay	3,157	0	0	....		
Haidarabad	25	0	0	....		
Dhanduka	1,410	2	0	650	13	0
Rupsingh, &c., Zamindars of Bhalej	131	1	0	....		
Nadiad	1,948	6	0			
Halol, Haveli Chanpaner, and Derol	154	12	0			
Dabhoi	1,272	9	0			
Vejbara	71	8	0			
Savli	1,035	8	0			
Godhra	826	11	0			
Sirnal or Thasra	1,208	13	0			
Chorasi Chanpaner	511	2	0			
Dilol	197	13	0			
Golbara	178	8	0			
Mahmudabad	403	12	0			
Munda .. .. Rs. 10,002 5 0				....		
Modasa Desai ,, 1,300 2 0	Zamindar			Rs. 2,661	0	0
Maqbulabad .. .. .. Desai Rs. 1,986 0 0	*mahmudis.*					
From the Kolis of Atarsumba	Rs. 42	11	0	....		
From the Zamindar of Rasand Ghoras of Pargana Munda ..	Rs. 491	4	0	....		
From the Zamindar of Bansa,	,, 1,525	0	0	....		
From the Zamindar of Bandriya,	,, 877	6	0	....		
From the Zamindar of Pethapur,	,, 877	6	0	....		
The Zamindar of Varsoda ..	,, 1,525	0	0	....		
Harsur Desai Rs. 125 2 0	Sardari			Rs. 88	0	0
Shahjahanpur ,, 46 0 0				....		
Kadi Desai ,, 5,169 1 0	Zamindar			Rs. 3,858	14	0

CHAPTER VII.

Sea Ports.

There are 27 ports and 45 baras in the province of Ahmedabad. A port is a place where big ships anchor, while a *bara* is meant for small boats, called *hodis* in Gujarat.

Southern ports :—Port of Cambay; Bara of Badgam Bandar in Cambay, and Port Khandra under the Mutasaddi of Cambay; Baras Tikare and Kavi in Pargana Maqbulabad; Bara Lohar of Dhajara in Pargana Jambusar; Port of Broach under the Mutasaddi of Surat who looks after the following also :—Port Sohab; Baras Jalab, Parahul, Balsar, Navsari, Haloni, Ghandevi; Chikli, Sirbhawan, and Hira.

Mambae (Bombay), belonging to the English.

Port Bassein now-a-days is held by the men of Balajirao.

The Port of little Daman belongs to the Europeans. The ports captured by the hat wearers in the time of the Sultans of Gujarat belonged to the province of Gujarat.

The ports of Sorath in the south-western and north-western directions :—Bara Shahpur, Bara Thakria in Pargana Viramgam, Baras Bharyad, Manji, Bhangadh, Dolera (in Dhanduka), Partej —an old port now called Bhavnagar of Bhavsingh Zamindar of Sihor belonging to Ghoga; Bara Ghoga under the Mutasaddi of Cambay, where ships anchor; Bara Undi, or Banderkot, belonging to the Kolis in Pargana Ghoga; Bara Sultanpur, which at high tide becomes an island, belonging to the Kolis of Pargana Talaja; Baras Jhanjsu, Jhanjmir, Kotra Walang, and Ghadwala, in Pargana Talaja; Bara Qutbpur, which like Sultanpur [1] is encompassed by tidal waves, belongs to the Kolis and Rajputs of Pargana Mahuva, Bara Muzaffarabad, where Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat built a fortress; Bara Kodinar in Pattan; Bara Chohar belonging to Kodinar; Port Pargana Dongar; Bara Ahmadpur; Port Khokla in Una, opposite the island of Diu; Baras Rajpur, and Kot, belonging to Una; Ports Nagesari and Malikpurutra;

[1] See *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, p. 248. "Probably many of the pirates of the gulf (of Cambay) were Kolis. They gave much trouble to the English, who in 1734 and 1771 sent expeditions against them, and on the second occasion captured their strongholds of Sultanpur and Tulaja."

Bara and Port of Bilaval or Bilaval Pattan; Port Hira, founded by Chanda of Pattan Dev, belonging to Bilaval Pattan; Bara Chorwar; Port Manglor; Baras Udhupur and Piph in Pargana Manglor; Porbandar; Baras Navi and Kusa or Chania; Baras Bhora, Bhar, and Tajpur, under Porbandar; Baras Dubari, Bhavda, and Dwarka, on the river Gomti; Baras Badrala and Armada, in the island of Shankhodhar; Kusia three kos from Dwarka; Rajpur, Hapir, Kohij, Hara, Mantdarda, in Pargana Jagat or Dwarka; Raval in the South of Islamnagar; Port Mirjani; Bara Pajpur; Port Salaya in Pargana Khambalia; Bara Nagna, and Port Bandi of Alamgirpur, north of Islamnagar; Port Jahang r; Port Bhidana; Bara Nakand, on the river Nagmati; Bara aliparkar, where pearls are found; Bara Jodiya, all belonging to the Sarkar of Islamnagar. Port Anjar; Mandvi; Mundra; Khubaria; Port Duma; Bara Nareansar; Port Uranga, belonging to the Sarkar of Cutch. The next ports are Karachi and Kalikot, belonging to the Province of Tattah.

Islands belonging to the Province.

Piram Bisram :—It was a place with a Governor in former times. Length and breadth 9 *kos*. Between Ghoga and Surat ports, and visible from Ghoga for a short distance.

In the regin of the Emperor Muhammad Shah Mulla Muhhammad Ali, a merchant, built towers and battlements for a fortress, and sent people to live there; but, owing to the numbers of snakes, the place did not flourish. Now the people of Ghoga take their cattle there to graze. It has sweet water.

Sultanpur :—In Talaja, near Ghoga at high tide it is surrounded by the sea and becomes a peninsula, having one way out only. It has sweet water, and is the abode of Koli pirates.

Qutbpur :—In Pargana Mahuva. Is surrounded at high tide like Sultanpur, and is the abode of Koli pirates who rob at sea.

Island of Diu :—In Pargana Una. Area 3 *kos*. Has sweet water, and is full of fruit and flowers. Malik Ayaz, slave of Sultan Mahmud Begada, dug up the way of half a *kos* connecting it with the main land, and the sea surrounded it, and it commanded the ports of the surrounding parts. He then constructed a tower in the middle of the sea, called 'Sankalkot,' and drew

chains of iron fixed to the shore so as to block the passage of European ships. The tower still exists. The orchards and gardens in the island were made by him, and a stone bridge was constructed towards the north at the confluence of the two branches of the sea running on the two sides of the island; this has now been destroyed. It was here that the Sultan Bahadur was treacherously killed by a force of Europeans, who still hold the island (vide *Mirat-i-Sikandari*). They have now very cunningly built their own fort, after demolishing that of Malik Ayaz.

The island of Shankhoddhar:—In Pargana Jagat or Dwarka, which was captured in the time of Aurangzeb and named Mustafa-nagar: area twelve *kos*. It has sweet water and abounds in fruit trees and other trees and fields. It is one of the great temples of the Hindus. The tomb of Haji Kirmani, a saint, is here, and is reached after a journey of three *kos* in a boat. The island is named after its shape, resembling a Shankh (conch shell), but Brahmanic lore attributes it to an old demon named Shankhasur, whose abode it was. In the reign of the late Emperor Aurangzeb Sardar Khan the Faujdar of Junagadh often waged violent war with the infidels, and left Islamic traces on the temple.

The island of Sankotretha:—In Pargana Mahuva. It has sweet water. During the Faujdari of Sardar Khan about 2,000 men were posted here to make navigation safe; but now it belongs to the Kolis.

The island of Sayalpeth:—Near Mahuva; it has sweet water.

The island of Danda Rajput[1]:—Between the ports of the Deccan and Surat, belonging to Yaqut Khan the Abyssinian. Expenses and establishments are paid by the port of Surat.

Rivers.

There are many rivers in this land, which rise in the hills and flow in the winter. I will now describe some of them:—

Saraswati:—The Brahmans consider it a most important river, equal to the Ganges. I have described it in connection with the Tirths. It rises from Allahabas,[2] and after flowing for some

[1] Revdanda.

[2] Allahabas the other name for Allahabad used in the time of Akbar.

distance disappears in the ground; then suddenly re-appears further on. In this land it appears from Mount Abu in Sirohi' and passing by the side of the town of Siddhpur in Pattan Sarkar disappears near the city of Pattan. Then it shows itself again in Pargana Kodinar in Sorath Sarkar and then divides into several branches, each with a separate name (*vide* Tirths).

Narbada:—Well-known. Also called the Rewa. One of the great rivers of the land. It rises from the root of a Banyan tree in the vicinity of Kramand in the mountains of Jharkhand, and crossing Malwa into Gujarat falls into the sea. It never dries up, and in Gujarat cannot be crossed without boats, except at one or two places in the summer, and even then the water reaches a man's chest or neck; such is the place named Baba Piyara, where guards were posted by the Nazim to block the passage of enemy troops. Its water is very sweet, light, and cool. It is one of the Hindu Tirths as described above.

Tapi:—Or Tapti, rises in the mountains of the Deccar and passing by Burhanpur falls into the ocean near the port of Surat.

Kim:—Rises from the mountains of the Deccan between the Tapti and Narbada, and falls into the sea near Olpad near the port of Surat. In the summer it often dries up.

Jambuva and Dhadar:—Rise in the hills near Dabhoi and pass by the Baroda plain.

Baskhand[1]:—This stream rises from Pavagadh and joining the above two rivers, passes Jambusar and Maqbulabad, and the three fall into the Mahi and thus reach the sea. And the Jambuva dries up in summer; the others only get smaller.

Under[2]:—Rising from the hills of Mandva and Jhabva, near Karnali—Chandod—a Hindu Tirth—it joins the Narbada. There are many other streams and rivers which fall into the ocean to the south of Surat. I have not thought them worth being mentioned.

Mahendari:—Called also the Mahi, which, rising from Mount Mahendar in the vicinity of Petlad and the Province of Malwa, falls into the sea at the port of Cambay.

Sabar:—Rising in the mountains south-east of Ajmere, and flowing from the tank of Sabar, joins the Hatmati near Sankhpur

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1 Vishvamitri. 2 or Orsang.

(Pargana Bijapur), and is called Sabarmati near the city of Ahmedabad. Joining other streams it reaches Cambay, and there falls into the sea.

Vatrak :—Rising in the mountains north-east of Idar and passing Kaira, it joins the Sabarmati at Benth. Its water is very sweet, especially at Mahmudabad.

Meshwa :—Rising on the tableland of Palanpur and Makori and passing the town of Harsur it joins the river Vatrak near Kaira in Pargana Arharmatar.

Shiri :—Rising in the hill of Dhamod in Pargana Birpur, it joins the Vatrak near Kaira.

Majham :—From the mountains on the south-east; passing near Modasa it joins the Vatrak below the fort of Mamurabad.

Mohar and Baransi :—These streams join each other at Kapadvanj, and fall into the river Shiri at Sarkatej in Pargana Monda. After passing Kaira the combined rivers are known as the Vatrak, and join the Sabarmati and thus flow into the sea.

Shetranja :—It rises in the mountains of Sorath, and crossing Palitana and Talaja falls into the ocean.

Hirna :—Rising in the vicinity of Somnath, it is said to be a branch of the Saraswati which reappears here. It has five branches, which have been described in connection with the Tirths.

Machhu :—This river rises in the western hills of Sorath, and passing Morvi joins the ocean on the east of the peninsula.

Bhadar :—This, too, rises in the western hills of Sorath, and passing Jetpur falls into the ocean towards the east by way of Dhanduka.

Nagmati and Rangmati :—These rise in the hills of Navanagar and Cutch, and flowing parallel pass near Navanagar and there fall into the ocean. Turbans and coloured cloth, dipped into their water when dyed, become fast and unaffected by perspiration and sunlight.

Sonrekha :—Rises in mount Girnar and flows in Junagadh in the rainy season. Gold is deposited in its bed, but there is not enough to make its working profitable.

Banas :—Rises in the hills of Sirohi, and passing Dantiwara

near Palanpur falls into the ocean on the south, in the direction of Cutch.

There are many other brooks and streamlets in Sorath that flow in the rainy season but dry up in summer. Some of these last till winter in pools here and there.

Noli :—Near Godhra, flowing only in the rainy season. In the village of Toyamakan there are hot streams. It is a place of Tirth, and people collect water from it in earthen pots.

Khari ;—Flows in the rainy season for four *kos*. Water sometimes lasts till winter.

On the names of various tracts.

In the kingdom of Gujarat most areas are specially named, and wonderful stories are told about the origin of these names.

Dandai :—Pargana Kadi and its neighbourhood.

Kherar :—Pargana Bahial and its neighbourhood.

Parathnagari :—*i.e.*, Dholka. Tanbanagari, *i.e.*, Cambay.

Jhalawar :—Pargana Viramgam. It had 1,800 villages. Wonderful stories are told of it. It is the abode of the Jhala Rajputs.

Parpas :—Pargana Munjhpur and some of the neighbourhood of Pattan.

Kankrej :—Near Pattan in the vicinity of Palanpur.

Waghad :—Radhanpur and its neighbourhood.

Dhandar :—Pargana Palanpur, Deesa, and Santiwara.

Raja Harchand's Nagari:—The town of Harsol and the neighbourhood of Ahmednagar.

Adayam :—Modasa and Idar.

Malvada :—Pargana Kapadvanj, Balasinor, and some of the villages of Thamna.

Parkar Des :—On the other side of the Runn of Cutch as far as the seashore.

Nira :—Jytmara.

Saurashtra :—Included in the Sarkars of Sorath, Islamnagar and Cutch. It has several districts. Saurashtra is now called Sorath.

Okhakher :—The neighbourhood of Jagat or Dwarka.

Prabhas kher :—Pattan, Somnath and its neighbourhood.

Cutch and Bhujnagar and the neighbourhood are called Halar; Navanagar and its vicinity, Kathiawar. Kolwad, Babriawad, Panjal, are in Saurashtra.

Wagad:—A land called Salkuka. Area 14 *kos*, adjacent to a jungle extending 30 *kos*, abounding in self grown fruit trees and inhabited by Kolis.

Nalkantha;—Between Dholka and Dhanduka.

Charotar:—Pargana Nadiad, Mahuda in the vicinity of Petlad, and some of the villages of Thamna.

Mahendra Des:—On the other side of the river Mahi: consisting of some villages.

Parkher:—Pargana Baroda.

Kanam:—Pargana Jambusar and Maqbulabad.

Barkhokar:—Broach and dependencies.

Palwara:—Rajpipla, Alimohan, Godhra and its neighbourhood.

The climate of Palwara is very unhealthy and this has become proverbial in Gujarat.

Mountains.

On the boundaries of this land there is a range consisting of mountains big and small.

On the *East* lie Mount Pawa, Lunawara, Sunth, Banswada and Dongarpur extending to the mountains of Udaipur.

North-east:—From Idar, Danta Samphar, Palanpur, and Dantivara, touching Mount Abu which joins the hills on the Ajmer frontier.

North-west:—The Cutch hills extending to the seashore.

West:—In the Sorath Sarkar nearly the whole of its land near the seashore is hilly.

South:—From the port of Surat extending to Nandurbar and Baglan in the province of the Deccan.

South-east:—The mountains of Rajpipla (Nandod Sarkar), which extend to the mountain range of Ali Muhammad and Jhalora, crossing the Khanapur pass. There are four high mountains—places of Hindu worship, belonging to the Brahmans. Strange stories are told about them.

Ardachal:—In Sarkar Sirohi, a high mountain range, broad and long, with many streams flowing, reservoirs of sweet water,

fruits, flowers, mangoes, gardens. It has 12 villages with a strong fortress called Abu Khind. It is said that the source of the river Saraswati is from underneath a mango tree. Numberless Champa trees grow here, and buffaloes are fed on its flowers. Fragrant oil is also prepared. And there are many places and temples of the Meshris and Shravaks (as mentioned above).

Vindhyachal:—In Nandod Sarkar, better known as the Rajpipla mountain, on which a fort for the Zamindar is built. It extends to the hills of Jabua and Ali Mohan, and then crossing the Khanapur pass touches the boundary of Bengal. The travellers and Sanyasis of Surat are said to visit it. Wild elephants live in the valley near Ali Mohan. During the reign of the Emperors Jahangir and Shahjahan many of these animals were caught (*vide* their reigns). In the time of Aurangzeb the Zamindars became independent and closed the pass, putting a stop to elephant hunting. Running brooks, tanks of water, and fruit trees, are found here, and there is a temple dedicated to Mahadev.

Pava:—In Champaner Sarkar, three *kos* in height. It has fountains, reservoirs, and the stream called Vikhand. Some myrabolam trees used to grow there. Stone buildings and a strong fort with twelve gates were built by the old Zamindars. A cave with a mouth about sixty yards in width, lies near the eighth gate, and is crossed by a plank called Patia-Pul, by which men go up to the battlements. During war time it is drawn up and the passage blocked. The temple of Bhavani is on the peak of the mountain, over which is the shrine of a saint named Sadan Shah.[1]

Girnar[1]:—In Sorath, near Junagadh, seven *kos* in height. In the time of Rao Khengar, the Zamindar of Sorath, a fort on the mountain, at a height of five *kos*, was built, and it remained for a long time the seat of the Zamindars. Some of the walls

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer* (Kaira and Panch Mahals), page 191. Hindus say that Sadan was a Hindu, given out to be a Musulman to save the temple.

[2] See *Bombay Gazetteer* (Kathiawar Volume). A small book has lately been published in Gujarati at Baroda by Mr. J. P. Joshipura under the name of *Girnarnu Gaurav* with a detailed description of the hill and its temples and tanks and the famous points in its neighbourhood. The great mass of Girnar frowns over Junagadh and is a landmark for many miles in Kathiawar.

and turrets, which had cost a large amount to build, still exist. The ascent from the base to the peak is most hard :

With Fancy's foot we climb its side,
And Fancy hath its summit eyed.

There is a way round of thirty-five *kos* long abounding in different kinds of trees, mango groves, all sorts of flowers and grasses, running brooks, wells, tanks, and ponds. They say 'Gular'[1] (a kind of fruit) about a quarter seer in weight grows there. Beasts of prey and wild animals—deer, mountain ox, and *Nilgai*—and reptiles are found there. There are many bottomless caves (called *Kho* in Gujarati), in some of which Yogis and Sanyasis live solitary lives, feeding on fruits and herbs which are often offered to their visitors. The Girnar is considered by Meshris and Shravaks as a most sacred mountain with one of the greatest temples of these two sects. Devotees flock there from distant lands, especially on the Chaturdashi or Shivratri, when the sun enters the sign of Capricorn.

Jamil :—A mountain joined to the Girnar—say a spur of it ;—connected with Jamil Shah, a Muslim saint who lived there as a recluse. The Hindus, however, connect it with Mahadev. Both communities make pilgrimage to it. The rivulet Sonrekha rises between the Girnar and Jamil.

Usam :—A mountain in Sorath Sarkar, 10 *kos* from Jungadh It had fortress, a tank, and some buildings for the Zamindar.

Gopha :—A mountain in Sorath near Jagat or Dwarka. It is said that figures of Krishna's horses are carved on its rocks. Gopis, who after the death of their Lord were conducted to Mathura by Arjun, were robbed by a gang of Kolis in the neighbourhood of the hill.

Barda :— A long winding mountain range in Sorath Sarkar.

Satlachal also called Shatranja :—In Palitana (Sarkar Sorath) named after the river Shatranja ; three *kos* in height, and ten *kos* in circumference, with fountains of sweet water, and the temples of Shravaks on its heights.

Idar :—By the town of Idar (Ahmedabad Sarkar), three *kos* in height, extending as far as the mountains of Udaipur and Sirohi.

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[1] Gujarati *Gular*, Marathi *Umbar*—ficus glomerata.

It has fountains, wells, reservoirs of sweet water, trees, and mango gardens. There is a fortress with seven gates, built at the height of a *kos* and a half by the old Zamindars, and there are old and new buildings for them to use.

Wonders of Gujarat.

Gujarat is an extensive country. Owing to its distance many of its wonders and marvels have not been heard of by others. I have, however, described some of them in the introduction and previous chapters on temples and *Tirths*. Other miscellaneous examples are given below :—

Windmill :—It is said that in former times there was a windmill higher than the mausoleum of Shah Bhikhan in the city. When the wind blew its wings began to move. Now its lower stone remains intact on a mound. The date of its construction is not known.

There are some select wells on the Kankariya tank in the city. Cotton clothes, embroidery, and satin, if washed therein, increase in lustre and colour.

There is a pond called Kantoria near Bara Nainpur where *Salu*[1] clothes are washed and their colour improved. As the pond is dry in summer water is drawn from an adjacent well and poured into its bed, which being mixed with the mud of the bottom produces the same effect.

There was a mosque in Chanasma (near Pattan) which had twelve windows in its western wall, through each of which people could easily see the new moon. Up to the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb a camel-rider used to be despatched to Ahmedabad to tell men there about the new moon. The wall is now falling down and some of the windows are broken.

Iron is found in Pargana Chhakkar (Surat Sarkar).. Pearls are found in Walibandar in taluka Navanagar. Some of them are worth Rs. 500. Navanagar pearls are famous, and they are sold in the city of Ahmebabad ; being smuggled there through fear of the Zamindars.

In the neighbourhood of Pargana Badnagar gun-powder is prepared from the nitre there found.

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[1] A cotton upper garment worn by women (Belsare).

Crystal is found in Kapadvanj and is made into decanters[1] and bracelets for women, but its colour is green and it cannot be whitened. "Baba Ghori"[2] stone is quarried from the Majham river. The cornelian cutters of Cambay make cornelian vessels and knife handles.

Iron mines were worked in former times near the town of Kapadvanj. Heaps of refuse are still to be seen there. There are also some silver mines which the smelters secretly utilised for themselves. This fact being discovered they fled for their lives, and their secret was lost.

In the town of Dabhoi there is a stone ring called Mama Dukri hung up as a touch stone for truth and falsehood. Those who are innocent can pass through it even if they be corpulent, but woe to the culprit—he is caught and can only be extracted if they open the ring. This is a mystery. Nothing is known as to the date and who Mama Dukri[3] was.

It is said that in ancient times in Nagra, one and a half *kos* from Port Cambay, there was a big city with walls of copper called Tamba Nagari. Some say that while digging a wall a brick of copper was found, testifying to the truth of this legend. But "the teller is responsible for the truth of it." It is said too that, in the days of old, Kaira was a big city peopled by the spinners of the sacred thread (now called Khedawal Brahmans), and it had a Raja who committed a sin for which the city was engulfed. Men point out the river Vatrak flowing through the midst of the city. Bricks of its ruined buildings are dug out as a testimony to the divine punishment. Each brick is half a span thick, and one and a half spans in breadth, and one cubit in length; all being of equal

1 *Qawarir* (plural of *qarurat*), flasks, decanters.

2 Baba Ghori.—A kind of stone resembling agate.

3 See *Baroda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, page 506. It is said (by Forbes) that a certain Seyid Ballah—a stranger passing through Dabhoi with his mother Mama Dukri on the way to Mecca—bathed in the sacred lake. Thereupon, the Brahmans had his hands cut off, and from this mutilation he died. Mama Dukri is said in revenge to have stirred up the sovereign of her country to attack and destroy Dabhoi. During the seige she died and was buried near the Hira Gateway, where her tomb still remains. The story is probably a fabrication. But the tomb exists; and by its side is an upright slab with a well-worn hole through it. Through this hole the innocent can pass; but not the guilty.

size, weighing nearly twenty Shahjahani seers. Some walls and rooms too are still found intact. The writer has himself seen the signs of buildings in the old river bed, which appear as a mound, and traces of the ruined buildings are found a spear's length below the earth. Diggers have found brazen vessels arranged in order in a niche, which, through the passing of time, turn to ashes at the touch of a hand. And sometimes during the rainy season silver coins with the image of an ass are found—said to have been struck in the name of Raja Gadhesingh,[1] about whom strange stories are told.

Nowadays Muhammad Khan Babi has built from the old debris a fortress and some houses; and excavation still shows, innumerable bricks.

In the fields of Naroda or Nahrwala in Pargana Haveli three *kos* from the city of Pattan, old iron pieces called *mandur* are found, which are used by Indian physicians as a cure for certain diseases. These pieces of iron are taken far and wide for use.

In the mountains of Sorath, where no people are, there is a tree growing, which is such that any living being passing by it; or any bird sitting on it, is killed straightway. It is said that an army was once sent to collect tribute from Sorath. A soldier going out to obey a call of nature broke off a twig for a tooth-stick; no sooner had he applied it to his teeth than they all became loose and fell out. In the neighbourhood of the town of Una (Sarkar Sorath) there is a well named Sari, the water of which adds to the temper and sharpness of swords.

It is said that once a certain person placing a sword so treated in his lap leaned down to drink water from his hands. The sword being slightly pressed cut through its scabbard, passed through the man's stomach, and killed him on the spot. So the well was filled up with earth, which is now used instead of water to temper swords. The swords of Una are famous in the land.

In the mountains of Rajpipla many herbs and drugs are found, especially a drug from the tree called Ragatroda, whose wood when pounded like sandalwood is a cure for many diseases.

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[1] Sir Donkey.

Mount Girnar is covered with innumerable fruit tress and extensive greenery. It is said that some of its herbs are used in alchemy, and many Yogis and Sanyasis from long distances go in search of them. Many streams run, and, hard by, is Mount Jamil Shah where gold is found. In the rainy season, when the stream called Sonrekha flows from this hill, its sand yields gold (as mentioned above).

It is said that a party of men was once wandering about on the Mount Girnar when one of them plucked a flower and smelt it. Straightway he turned into a serpent, and avoiding the company of his fellows crept into a cave and disappeared. Therefore persons visiting this mountain dare not touch or pluck any flower or herb which is not known to them, for fear of being thus transformed.

It is said that if ten persons go for worship to the temple of Kali Bhavani, which is on the highest peak of the Girnar and the ascent to which is most difficult, one member of the party disappears mysteriously.

In the ocean off Junagadh a kind of fish is found, which if exposed for a while to the sun, melts like ice.

In olden times a certain Darvish wandering on Mount Girnar saw a fountain from which he began to fill his Tumdi or Darvish's gourd. "Do it not" said a mysterious voice to him; but he paid no attention to it. Twice, thrice, the voice warned him, but to no purpose. At last, when he rose up after filling his gourd, he heard the voice saying, "Begone; not thine, but Raeka's"!

The Darvish descended and went to the town, and unwillingly stopped at the shop of one Raeka, a grocer, to whom he entrusted his gourd and went out to answer a call of nature. And it so happened that a drop of water from the hanging gourd oozed out, transmuting into gold the grocer's iron weight which was lying under it. The wondering Raeka understood the process, and quickly taking the golden weight and the gourd placed them in a safe corner, and then set fire to his shop. Soon the Darvish returned and asked for his gourd. The wily grocer, who was lamenting and crying out for help, exclaimed "Cursed be thy gourd which brought this ruin on my shop. See how the flames are consuming every thing. Woe is me; I am undone."

The Darvish, who was unaware of the mystic action of the water, went back to the mountain, hoping again to fetch water from the fountain ; but to his surprise he saw no trace of it. Like the fountain of life it was hidden from his sight! It is said that Raeka built from that wealth the famous temple of the Shravaks. He left descendants, who are still found in this land, living as common men.

APPENDIX I.

The Mughal Administration.

Akbar was the first to divide the Empire into Subas, forming twelve such Subas in 982 A.H. There were twenty-two Subas, or Provinces, in the Indian Empire in the time of Shah Jahan and later—including such distant places as Kandahar, Kabul, Kashmir, Balkh, and Badakhshan, where the Moghal Emperor's authority must have been extremely shadowy.

Each Suba was governed by a Subadar, or Governor, appointed from Delhi ; if the Subadar was not actually stationed in the Province, a Naib Subadar or Deputy Governor was sent. The Subadar had a Diwan, who was *de facto* Chief Revenue and Administrative Authority. The Suba was divided into Sarkars, or Districts, each with a Faujdar Gard, who was a Police official responsible for order. The Sarkar was further divided into Parganas, each under a Faujdar. Certain areas had their own special arrangements ; thus the port of Surat was governed by a Mutasaddi, who was independent of the Nazim[1] and directly under the Subadar. In judicial matters the authorities were the

[1] The Nazim, who is often referred to in the *Mirat*, was a Governor or high official whose special duty it was to look after the Military and Police of the Suba, and generally to preserve order. In the later days of the Mughal Empire he was usually confined to these duties. (Bayley, p. 22, note.)

Bird (p. 108), on the authority of Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari* and other works, gives the total revenues of the Province of Gujarat at various times as follows :—

Under Akbar—Sixty eight lakhs of rupees.
,, Jahangir—One and a quarter crores.
,, Aurangzeb—One and a half crores.
,, Mahammad Shah—Nearly one and a quarter crores.

Our author says that the total revenues in the time of the last independent Sultan (Muzaffar III) amounted to five crores and eighty-four lakhs of rupees.

Sadrs, Qazis, Muhtasibs, and others appointed by the Diwan with the approval of the Sadr-us-sudur or Head of the Judicial Department at Delhi.

Officials were usually Mansabdars. A *mansab* implied a grant of land from the income of which the Mansabdar had to maintain himself and to provide a certain number of mounted men. This force was either personal to the individual (مشروط), or conditional (ذاتي) on his holding a certain appointment. Naturally enough the horsemen were not always forthcoming, and an office was constituted for the special purpose of branding the horses, inspecting the arms, and registering (with a personal description) the troopers. This was called the *dagh* (branding) Department. In certain cases duties were entrusted to persons who were not Mansabdars, but were paid cash salaries by the Department of *Tan* or *Tankhwah* (salary). Mansabs ranked up to five or ten thousand, and a few of still higher rank were reserved for princes of the Royal Family.

Besides the territories under direct administration there were many outlying parts which still remained under their own Zamindars or local chiefs. These are now the various Political Agencies of British Gujarat, especially the Mahi and Rewa Kanthas and Kathiawar. These Zamindars paid tribute (پیشکش), which was often not forthcoming until the Nazim collected it in a Mulkgiri expedition. For revenue and fiscal purposes the limit was a *mahal* or division. A *mahal* might be a whole Pargana, or a part of a Pargana; a port, or city, might form one or more *mahals*; other sources of revenue (such as Customs) were also divided into *mahals*.

APPENDIX II.

The Horoscope of Ahmedabad.

Those who have studied the ancient science of astrology will understand and appreciate the horoscope of Ahmedabad; if in doubt they can refer to one of the numerous works on the subject —such as those of Leo or Sephariel, or the modest little handbook

In those days there were twenty-five Sarkars in the Province, many of which had been conquered from the neighbouring Provinces.

of Zadkiel. But the science has fallen upon evil days, and there are too many now who reject it; and too many who, being attracted by more modern ideas and beliefs, or ever occupied in their business or the affairs of everyday life, lack the knowledge which is needed. For them we have prepared this note with the kind assistance of Mr. D. N. Apte of Baroda.

Now the Zodiac is divided into twelve houses, and each house must at any time be occupied by one of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. And each of the wandering stars, or planets, must be in one or other of these houses. There were seven such wanderers, including the Sun and Moon; the outer planets, Uranus and Neptune, had not been discovered when Ahmedabad was founded. Certain positions of the planets with reference to the signs of the Zodiac are favourable, or the reverse; a matter which will be more carefully considered later on If, now, a certain event, such as the birth of a human being, has occurred at a particular hour on a particular day, it is easy to find where each sign was and each planet; the horoscope is a map of the heavens for a particular time, and it foretells the course of that human being's life. If we have to fix a time and a day for the doing of a particular thing—founding a city, or starting on a journey, or marrying a wife—we must experiment till we hit upon an hour and a day, when the signs and the planets are in their most favourable positions; when we have decided this—the process of 'election'—we fix our time and day. Thus was the hour chosen for the foundation of Ahmedabad. The horoscope was that shown in the text; one that promised a great career for the capital of Sultan Ahmad.

There are certain signs which are considered to be the houses proper to each planet. If we write the signs beginning with Aquarius and ending with Capricornus the middle signs are Cancer and Leo. These are the houses of the Moon and the Sun respectively. Then write the five other planets on each side in order—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. Their houses are the signs which correspond; thus Mercury has Virgo and Gemini, Venus Libra and Taurus, and so on. Thus the Sun and the Moon have each only one house, the other planets two. A planet in his own house has special influence. Moreover certain signs are those of Exaltation and Fall for the planets. The Sun is in Exaltation in

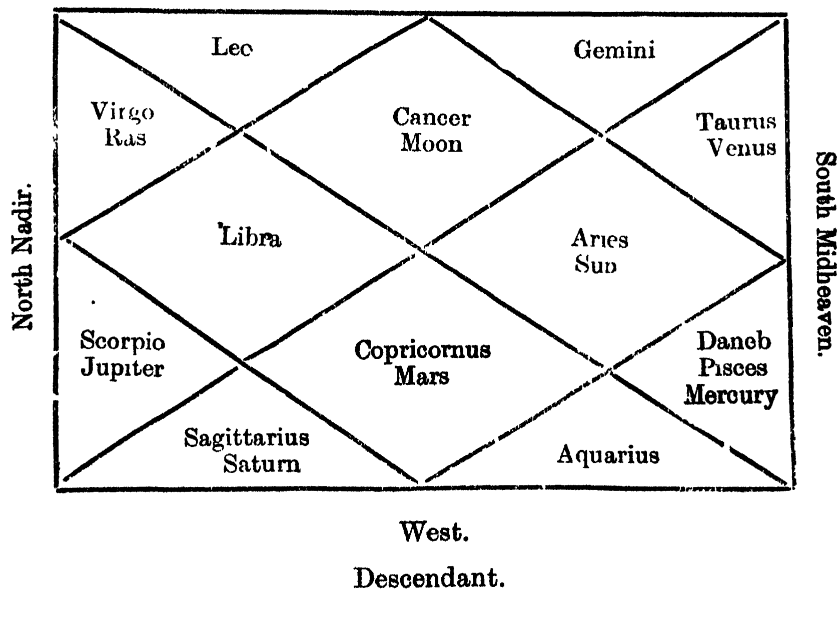
Aries ; the Moon in Taurus ; Mercury in Virgo ; Venus in Pisces ; Mars in Capricornus ; Jupiter in Cancer ; Saturn in Libra. Any planet in the sign which is six places from its sign of Exaltation is in Fall—the Sun in Libra, the Moon in Scorpio, and so on. A planet in Exaltation has the greatest possible influence ; in Fall its influence is the weakest.

Besides the planets there are two moving points which are shown in the horoscope—Rās and Daneb. These are the points where the Moon crosses the ecliptic. They have no effect, except with reference to the Sun and the Moon. When one of these bodies is in the same sign it is eclipsed or occulted. *Rās* is the Arabic for head, and *Daneb* for tail—the head and tail of the Dragon. They correspond to the Sanskrit names 'Rāhu' and 'Ketu', which in Hindu mythology are dragons which devour the Sun and Moon and thereby cause eclipses.

Let us now consider the Ahmedabad Horoscope of the founding of the City of Ahmedabad. Shalivahan Shake 1314, Vaishakh Shuddha 5, Thursday, 15 Ghadis and 35 Pals, Samvat 1449.

East

Ascendant.



West.

Descendant.

(i) Cancer was the sign rising on the ascendant, at the time of the horoscope, and the Moon, its lady, was in her own sign, and therefore strong. The ascendant, or the first house in every horoscope, indicates the personality of the native of the horoscope,—this is to say, the person or thing for which the horoscope is cast—his temperament, mentality, characteristics, and physique. In the case of a city, therefore, it would indicate the predominant characteristics, stability, and fortune. Cancer is a cardinal sign; "it stands, therefore for energy, activity, change, ardour, enthusiasm—self-consciousness realised in a life of action. In the outer world, this type shows the 'practical man or the man of action, in any rank of life from the labourer to the statesman. This sign gives opportunities and denotes ambition, love of fame and recognition, and pioneering spirit and a tenacity of purpose." All these qualities will be accentuated by the Moon the Moon lady of the sign being 'in her own house.'

(ii) The second house is the house of 'wealth,' and denotes the monetary and financial conditions. It is ruled by Leo, whose Lord, the Sun, is elevated in the tenth house, or meridian, and exalted in the sign Aries, which is extremely fortunate. It, therefore, shows an extremely prosperous financial condition; in fact, since the Lord is in the tenth house, or the house of fame and recognition, this city should be noted for its momentary status.

(v) The fifth house is that of education, speculation, plans of entertainment, and the children. It is occupied by Jupiter, who is the most benefice planet in the astrological *pantheory*. It, therefore, denotes great fortune, success and prosperity. In these points this city should be a great educational centre and a seat of learning. It particularly favours speculation, which would thus be encouraged. It is also favourable for places and objects of entertainments, like theatres, singing houses, ***Nāṭakashālās***, etc. Lastly, it denotes children or offspring, which in the case of a city shows great increase in population.

(vi) The sixth house indicates the enemies; and the astrological

rule is that an evil planet in it is good for the native. Since it is evil for the point indicated by it, it shows that there would be powerful and great enemies to the native, but they would be overcome by the qualities of ' responsibility, accuracy, precision, and a power to consider and reason on all things with caution and solicitude which are Saturnine qualities.

(*vii*) The seventh house in individual horoscopes indicates partners, conjugal or occupational, and therefore, in mundane astrology, indicates allies. This house contains Mars, the War Lord, in Capricornus, his sign of Exaltation. This shows that this city or kingdom, would have powerful military allies, from whom it would always receive assistance; though, as often happens in the case of puissant partners, they may become undesirably powerful; and this sometimes leads to disputes. A benefice planet, like Jupiter or Venus, is preferable, as it would show kind, generous, and noble partners.

(*ix*) The ninth house is the house of fame, spread in distant lands and shores. The sign Pisces occupies this house, with the planet Mercury in it. Mercury preeminently indicates the quick witted trader. He is the "winged messenger of the Gods"; and in practical life, therefore, denotes the mediator, the negotiator, the agent, in short a person who mostly deals with others. In the case of a city or kingdom, therefore, its fame and renown in foreign lands would be in this connection of trade business.

(*x*) The tenth house is the most important house in the horoscope, being in the midheaven at the time of the event for which the horoscope is cast. It is the house of honour, reputation, occupation, and politics, and represents public standing or worldly position. It is, also the apex of the horoscope, or that portion of which is thrust out most prominently into the busy life of the world (Leo. H. J. page 207). This is possessed by the Sun, the most important orb in the solar system and

astrologically the soul of the planetary system. Besides he is exalted in Aries, the first sign of the Zodiac. He, therefore, situated in the tenth house, "denotes honour and success, a good heredity, and shows possession of authority and responsibility. It particularly favours Governmental positions." (Leo H. J. W. page 211.) The city should, therefore, represent the most important centre of the times.

(*xi*) The eleventh house shows the friends and well-wishers of the native, as well as the realisation of his hopes and aspirations. This house contains Venus, in her own sign Taurus and therefore strong, which shows that there would be "much gain and help through friends, whose desire would be to forward the interest of the native and who will help him by thoughts of kindness and good-will as well as action." "A planet in the eleventh house, whether good or bad, has some significance in connection with the class of persons the native will be likely to meet as friends, and Venus in it shows them to be musicians, artists, and actors, and people with pleasant and generous tempers."

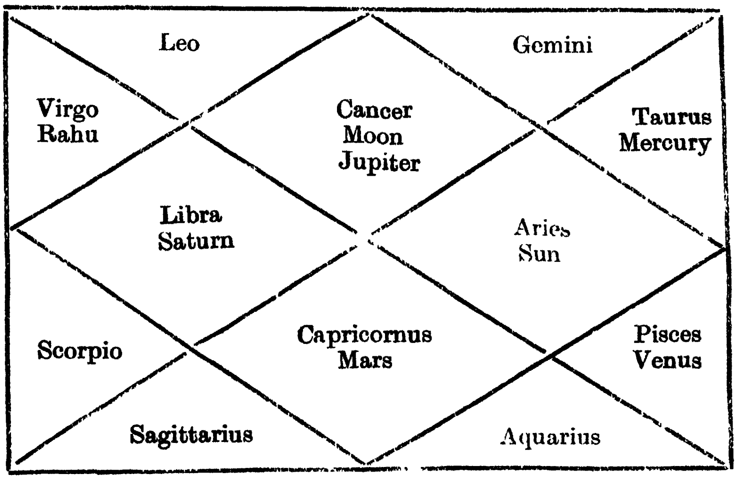
(*xii*) The twelfth and last house is indicative of loss through secret enmity. This house is an evil house, along with the sixth house which shows open enemies and the eighth showing death, and if bad planets occupy it, they show special evil. This horoscope is so set that the eighth and the twelfth house contain no evil planets, and the sixth contains Saturn which creates many enemies, though he also destroys them. The twelfth being free is good.

Coming now to a few general remarks concerning this horoscope; it has five planets out of nine rising, *i.e.*, from the first house to thes eventh, clockwise, which is the rising part of the Zodiac at the time of birth. The majority of the planets being above the horizon always indicates that the native will be to the forefront of the world and always in the lime-light. Secondly, four planets are in *dignities*, *i.e.*, either in their own houses or in Exaltation—thus the Sun in Aries in Exaltation; Mars in Capricornus, also in Exaltation; Venus in Tauras and the Moon in

Cancer are in their own houses. Planets thus dignified, besides denoting good to the houses which they occupy, always raise the native's position in life and elevate him to eminence. The third important point is that three out of the four angular houses (*viz.* the 1st, the 7th, and the 10th) contain planets including the 'lights,' *i.e.*; the Sun and the Moon. Angles occupied also show a busy and famous career.

It is not uninteresting to note that the imaginary horoscope of Shri Ramachandra is in many points similar to the one under discussion. The ascendant is Cancer, with the Moon in it; the Sun in Aries in the tenth house; Mars in Capricornus in the seventh; Mercury in the eleventh; and Venus in the ninth as follows :—

Shri Ramachandra's Horoscope.

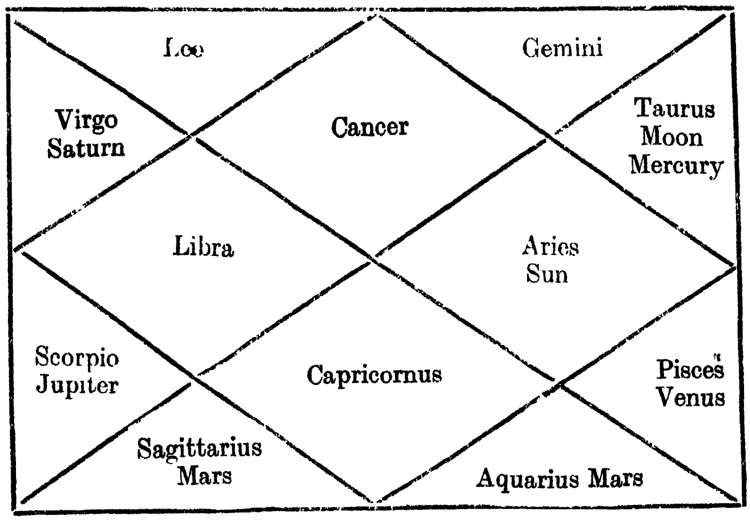


So also is Shivaji's horoscope, which is recorded below :—

The delineations of this horoscope for the fifth and tenth houses are exactly similar to the Ahmedabad horoscope. Instead of Rahu (the Dragon's head) in the Ahmedabad one we have Saturn—both evil planets, supposed to be good in the third house and denoting heroism and bravery. As regards the first house, its Lady the Moon is in her own house in the Ahmedabad horoscope, and in Taurus, *i.e.*, in Exaltation in Shivaji' shoroscope—both positions of dignity. The planets Mercury and Venus, respectively in the ninth and eleventh houses in the Ahmedabad horoscope,

exchange places in Shivaji's horoscope. Both the planets are benefice, and occupy benifice houses. The points of differences are that Mars in the Ahmedabad horoscope in the seventh house is in an angle and in Exaltation, and hence very strong. In Shivaji's horoscope, on the other hand, he is in the eighth house—the house of death. An evil planet in this house shortens life and brings

10th *April*, 1627. *Noon.*



about death, by maladies peculiarly his own. Mars denotes heat, fever, inflammation, and, being placed in Aquarius (ruling the part of the legs below the knees) in Shivaji's horoscope, he brought death by malady in that part. Venus, in Shivaji's horoscope in Pisces, is exalted, and so denotes greater religiousness, philanthropy and magnanimity, than in the Ahmedabad horoscope. With these exceptions the horoscopes seem to be very similar.

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